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ABSTRACT

The papers related to Canadian language policy at an international conference are presented: "Language Policy in Canada: Current Issues" (Juan Cobarrubias); "Multiculturalism and Language Policy in Canada" (Jim Cummins, Harold Troper); "Defining Language Policy in a Nationalistic Milieu and in a Complex Industrialized Region: the Quebec Case" (Jean-Denis Gendron); "The Impact of Minority on Language Policy and the Impact of Language Policy on Minority in Quebec" (Don Cartwright); "Facts and Fancies in Language Education of Ethnocultural Minorities" (Bruce Bain); "Language Education for Northern Canadian Native Students: A Case Study of Fort Albany, Ontario" (Kelleen Toohey); and "Multiculturalism as De-acculturation" (Claudia Persi-Haines, Ian Pringle). (MSE)

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN CANADA: CURRENT ISSUES

A Selection of the Proceedings of the Papers Dealing with Language Policy Issues in Canada at the Conference "Language Policy and Social Problems" Held in Curacao, December, 1983

Juan Cobarrubias, editor

In collaboration with:

Jean-Denis Gendron
Richard Vigneault

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN CANADA: CURRENT ISSUES

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INTRODUCTION

Canada declared itself to be officially a bilingual country in an explicit manner through the Official Languages Act of 1969. This important piece of legislation stated that English and French "enjoy equality of status and equal rights" in the Government of Canada. The question of language rights in Canada is as old as the country, or older as many would say, but the Official Languages Act became to the eyes of some linguistic communities an indicator of the fact that a significant degree of linguistic equality had been attained. Although the legal basis of the language rights established under the Official Languages Act can be traced back, in the opinion of some scholars (Swain and Barik 1978:22), to the British North America Act of 1867, it is especially after the 1969 Act that the Canadian case study attracted a significant amount of attention from language policy makers, educators, and linguistically minded social scientists. A number of third world countries and other language developing areas have recently looked at the language rights situation of Canada as that of a country where alternatives to a total assimilationist policy can be found. Whether or not a non-assimilationist model of social language behavior can be found in Canada is controversial matter. There are few among industrialized nations where language status and rights controversies have been so intense, particularly the status of French, as it has been in Canada. Perceptions about the language situation in Canada differ drastically from considering the language rights gains of the status of French too liberal and even extreme, as it seems to be the prevailing opinion of mainstream USA, to considering the gains of the status of French as a true model of social equity, as it seems to be the prevailing opinion in some developing multilingual nations including language minority groups in Europe and the USA. Still these two perceptions from the outside differ from inside perceptions. Among Canadian policy makers, not only are there two clearly divided opinions concerning the status of French but there are divided opinions about the rights of other linguistic minorities as well, such as the native Canadians and more recently about the rights of the so called heritage languages, and the language rights of recent immigrants. Scholars have not devoted the same degree of attention to all these language policy issues. The issue of the status of French and its relation with English has received a good deal of attention, for example, at the time of this writing, a book containing ten new essays on the language planning efforts of French in Quebec has just appeared (Bourhis 1984). However, the literature concerning language rights of other minorities is scarce.

The essays gathered in the present volume include some of the papers dealing with the Canadian situation presented at the International Conference on Language Planning and Language Policy held in Curaçao in December 1983. Some of the essays attempt to continue the dialog and cast new light on the relation between French and English while others attempt to direct attention and open a new dialog on language policy issues concerning other minorities. The essays contained in this volume have to be read in the context of existing literature on the issues of Canadian language policy making. Thus, to put the essays in perspective I will offer a brief outline on the background of Canadian language policy making before commenting on the papers themselves.

LANGUAGE POLICY MAKING BACKGROUND

Cultural and linguistic conflicts in Canada as well as the efforts directed to resolve them predate the Confederation. The historical significance of the region presently known as Quebec in the colonization and foundation of the nation cannot be denied. The Indian town of Stadacona occupied the present location of Quebec when Jacques Cartier visited it in 1535, though there is recent archeological evidence of the fact that the area of Red Bay in Labrador was well known to Basque whalers (Tuck, 1985; Grenier, 1985; Laxalt, 1985). Seventy-three years after Cartier's visit, Samuel de Champlain established the Habitation, a trading post, in today's Quebec in 1608. Colonization was slow and it has been reported that by 1635 only eighty-five French adults inhabited the settlement. Quebec was captured by an English force in 1629 but was restored to France three years later. The city of Trois-Rivières was founded in 1634 and Montreal in 1642. In 1627 Frence had established the Company of the Hundred Associates, a quasi official body empowered to grant tracts of land. In 1634 the first land grant was made. In 1663, Louis XIV replaced the Company with a council under whose auspices the population of the St. Lawrence River valley increased significantly and reportedly by 1683 reached ten thousand inhabitants. The official policy of bringing in French settlers ended apparently a year later making, thus, future francophone population growth mostly dependent upon high birth rates. The territory was called New France and was made a royal province in 1663 with Quebec as its capital. The historical importance of Quebec increased with the establishment of the colony of Louisiana in 1682 as the governor of Louisiana reported to the governor of Quebec. English expeditions attempted unsuccessfully to take over Quebec in 1690 and in 1711. But in 1759 Quebec City fell to the British, and Montreal the following year. By then, the population of New France was estimated at 65,000. Through the Treaty of Paris France formally ceded Quebec to Great Britain in 1763. For the next hundred years French-speaking people living in the area had to learn to coexist with their English conquerors, including the defense of their religion, governmental structure and of course language. It is against this historical background that one should understand the feelings of language loyalty.

The Quebec Act of 1774, which allowed the Roman Catholic Church to retain its privileges and property, established French civil law and English criminal law and defined the territory of Quebec as extending on the east to Labrador and on the southwest to the border of the area occupied by the present day states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio and Indiana. The Constitution Act of 1791 divided the region along the Ottawa River into Upper Canada and Lower Canada. This territorial division gathered most English-speaking in Upper Canada, today's Ontario, and the majority of French-speaking in Lower Canada, today's Quebec. Lower Canada, apparently dissatisfied with the lack of self-government, rebelled in 1837. In 1841 Upper Canada and Lower Canada were reunited and granted a measure of self-rule, including a legislature. Both sections were granted equal representation in the legislature even though at the time the population of Lower Canada was much larger than that of Upper Canada. In 1867, immediately before the Confederation, Upper Canada and Lower Canada were separated again, with Lower Canada becoming the province of Quebec and Upper Canada the province of Ontario. In 1867, the four provinces north of parallel 45 and north of USA which already possessed their own government met to form the Dominion of Canada and establish a central federal government. These provinces included Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The region of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, originally known as the French province of Acadia, was the subject of considerable Anglo-French dispute during the 17th century and changed hands several

times during the struggle for the supremacy in North America between Great Britain and France. Great Britain obtained possession of Acadia in 1713 through the Peace of Utrecht. By then most of the settlers were French-Catholic Acadians. The Acadians were forcibly deported in 1755 from Nova Scotia, many of whom settled in New Bruswick. The first British settlement in New Brunswick, which was administered as part of Nova Scotia, was established in 1762. In 1784 New Brunswick became a separate colony. The historical background of the provinces that formed the Dominion of Canada reveals part of the Anglo-French struggle for political and cultural supremacy in North America. But these four provinces united in 1867 to establish a federal government. This was a clear indicator that some common significant strategies existed among them. However, it has been reported that the constitution that united the four provinces to form the Dominion of Canada was in fact drafted and voted in London and labelled the British North America Act of 1867 (Plourde 1983:66). In any event, the 1867 Act established the legal basis of the new nation. It defined two governmental levels, federal and provincial, and assigned different powers to each. The federal government is responsible for all matters concerning the nation as a whole, such as national defense, currency and the like. The provinces are responsible for education, culture, health and the like. There are some domains where both levels of government have concurrent responsibilities such as immigration and others (Plourde 1983:68).

The 1867 Act contained only two sections concerning language policy, namely article 133 and article 93. Article 133 established policy in parliamentarian and legislative matters to be conducted bilingually. Some scholars have suggested that in fact this article only obliged Quebec to function bilingually in legislative matters and the courts (Plourde 1983:68). However, there is no consensus on this interpretation. Article 93 made education in Canada the responsibility of the provincial governments except the education of Indians, Eskimos and those living in the Northwest Territories. Education, particularly the language of education, was an issue prior to the Confederation and "the Fathers of Confederation, in drafting the British North America Act, acknowledged the potentially divisive nature of the issue and responded to it by moving education out of the federal domain into the domain of the provinces where the differences had existed and where they conceivably could be solved" (Mallea 1984:223). The intent was apparently that all Canadians could maintain their own ethnolinguistic identity while sharing in the common benefits of the nation (Mallea 1984:223). In this interpretation, the intent seems quite consistent with recent legislation concerning language maintenance of ethnic groups as discussed by Cummins and Troper in this book. But if this was the intent it was not explicitly formulated in the 1867 Act.

Provincial autonomy has not consistently worked out to the advantage of educational minorities. "Conflict not consensus, controversy not harmony, has more often than not characterized the efforts of Canadian minority language communities to obtain services appropriate to their needs and aspirations. The British North America Act, in particular, has not proved equal to the task of dealing adequately or fairly with the minority language education issue. Consequently, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans, and other French-speaking minorities at various times and in various contexts, have discovered that provincial autonomy in educational matters has worked to their disadvantage" (Mallea 1984:223). Although the 1867 Act did not explicitly legislate on language matters it established certain rights that impacted significantly upon linguistic issues which later on made formulation of more precise legislation necessary. Thus, "with the implicit right to send their children to either the French or English school system enshrined in the

British North America Act of 1867, many immigrants chose to enroll their children in English schools rather than French ones. It must be noted that section 93 of the British North America Act established the right to denominational schooling (Catholic and Protestant) which, for the next hundred years, tended to follow linguistic lines. The language of instruction in most Catholic schools was French; while that in the Protestant sector was almost exclusively English" (d'Anglejan 1984:33). However, the language of instruction was not the only difference in the schools. For almost a century the content, particularly when it came to dealing with the cultural and linguistic differences that are part of the Canadian society, was not dealt within an objective manner. "Canada's English-speaking majority have gone out of their way to eradicate (differences) in the schools. Assimilation, not appreciation of differences, has been the policy, conformity not diversity, the goal. Two dramatically different histories of the development of Canada are taught in the schools of French and English-speaking Canada" (Mallea 1984: 223). In the latter, "school textbooks continue to portray a consensus, non-controversial view of society. At the university level, the study of Canadian issues and conflicts have suffered from widespread omission and neglect" (Mallea 1984:233).

Linguistic and cultural assimilation began early and only recently have significant changes toward equality taken place. As early as 1841 Lord Durham had stressed the need and advantages of assimilating the French-speaking minorities. Agreements made over the Confederation explicitly rejected this approach (Mallea 1984:255). French-speaking minorities in Manitoba and Ontario were denied to run schools in French, whereas English minorities in Quebec were permitted to run their own schools in English (Plourde 1983:68). In addition to such practices, there is no question that the role of English as a dominant language all over North America exerts a strong assimilative force. This force has operated differently among French Canadians inside than outside Quebec. Language shift to English among French Canadians outside Quebec has been very significant and it is well documented (Joy 1972). But in many instances there were other forces in addition to the role of English to force assimilation, and when remedies were brought about to counteract them it was too late. "For instance, when French was banned from both the Manitoba school system and from the provincial legislature in the 1890s, francophones still numbered a significant minority of the population in this province. Close to a century later, when in 1979 the Canadian Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the banning of French in Manitoba, French was finally reintroduced in the Manitoba legislature. However, by then the population of French origin had dwindled to no more thant 8%" (Bourhis 1984:9). The coexistence between French and English in Canada has been conflictive, and French has not been accorded equal status to English anywhere in the country, with exception of the province of Quebec. There seems to be fairly good consensus on this issue among students of the Canadian situation. One has commented that "though French has maintained its prestige as a major language of culture and technology internationally, it remains that in Anglo-Canada, French was historically relegated to a low status position not unlike that of ancestral languages of Europe. Francophone minorities in Anglo-Canada have long been the target of discriminatory practices which have in turn contributed to the anglicization of French Canadians across the whole of the country" (Bourhis 1984:9). A major step toward the equalization of the status between French and English was the passage of the 1969 Official Languages Act, in response to recommendations of the Federal Government Royal Commission on Bilingualism and pressures from Quebec.

The Official Languages Act of 1969 proclaimed equal status of French and English and recognized them as the two official languages of Canada. This landmark piece of

legislation made it possible "for persons of either official language to educate their children, as well as to communicate with and to receive services from the Federal government in the official language of their choice" (d'Anglejan 1984:32); it also made possible the introduction of future legal refinements and new pieces of legistation at the provincial government level. In fact, there were some attempts prior to 1969, toward achieving a statute for the French language in Quebec: 1) The League of the rights of French was established in 1913 and its prime objective was to make French the obligatory language of commerce and public services; 2) a law was proposed in 1937 according to which the French version of laws could be used in legal matters in lieu of the English version and the French version would prevail in case of disagreement. The poposed law of 1937 was dropped a year later in response to complaints from the English media (Plourde 1983:69). However, the 1969 Official Languages Act appears as the first serious attempt at the national level to deal with linguistic assimilation of French-speaking Canadians outside of Quebec and other existing inequities in the status of the two languages. It is interesting to note the enormous time gap that exists between the Act of 1867 and the Act of 1969. Even though the intent of the 1969 Act was to "promote the revival of the French language in Anglo-Canada" (Bourhis 1984:9) and deal with the old problem of differential status between French and English, it is clear that by 1969 the ethnic and cultural makeup of the country had changed substantially and many ethnic groups did not feel that official bilingualism was particularly significant to them. Thus, "demographic, economic and political changes since Confederation, and particularly since World War II, had brought into being a far more plural society. This central, fundamental fact, allied to strong vestiges of support for the vision of Canada as a unilingual society, helps explain why the Official Languages Act of 1969 met with the opposition that it did" (Mallea 1984:225). Many minority groups of other than French and English backgrounds felt that their contribution to the Canadian society had been underrepresented. These groups "made their voice and presence felt with the result that the fourth and final volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was devoted in its entirety to The Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups. In 1971 the federal government announced its new policy of 'Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework'. According to it, Canada had two official languages but no official culture" (Mallea 1984:256). It has been reported that the francophone response, particularly in Quebec, to such a policy was negative and it was construed by Quebec nationalists as additional evidence of anglophone lack of support for dualism (Mallea 1984:256). However, this new policy reflects a significant ideological change, namely, the acceptance of multiculturalism in education and the corresponding pressure upon schools to legitimize heritage languages (Cummins and Troper this volume). The most recent piece of legislation at the federal level is the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which reaffirms English and French as official languages of Canada in its sections (16-22), though these sections have only been adopted by New Brunswick and the federal government so far (Mallea 1984:243).

Within Canadian language policy-making Quebec has played a unique role from the start but more particularly during the last two decades. The seemingly passive attitude that prevailed during the first half of the XXth century changes substantially in the mid sixties, particularly as the result of drastic changes in francophone demographic growth that had been taking place since World War II, and more dramatically yet during the seventies when specific legislation was passed giving French a unique status within the province. The first attempt to seriously change the status of French in education was the Education Department Act (Bill 85)(1968). It protected the right of linguistic minorities to choose the language of instruction and ensured that English-speaking children

and immigrants in Quebec would acquire a working knowledge of French. This Bill never became law but it helped promote other pieces of legislation and it did generate a good deal of controversy at a time when the federal Official Languages Act of 1969 had not yet been passed. The controversies generated by Bill 85 triggered the passage of a series of successive legislative pieces by a number of successive Quebec governments (Daoust-Blais, 1983). The Act to Promote the French Language (Bill 63)(1969) reaffirmed the rights recognized in Bill 85 and added the parent's right to choose either French or English as the language of education for their children. Bill 63 was short lived since there was a change in government to a liberal government that promised a new language law following recommendations of the Gendron Commission. The so called "quiet revolution" was in the making. The Gendron Commission (Quebec 1972) had found that immigrant preferences for English schooling were still evident and cited attitudes of dissuasion conveyed to parents of immigrant children even those attending French Catholic schools. The Commission recommended intervention though it questioned whether schooling was an effective way of integrating the immigrant into a French-speaking community. Economic motivations seemed more important than educational ones in explaining the immigrant's inclination to integrate with the English-speaking community rather than the French-speaking community. The language of work, not the language of instruction became the focal point of the promotion of the French language in the province of Quebec and the Commission's recommendations became the topic of intense controversy. The result was the passage of the Official Language Act (Bill 22)(1974). Bill 22 is perhaps the most crucial piece of legislation in the history of language status planning in Quebec. It is this piece of legislation that makes the French text of Quebec's statutes prevail over the English version in controversial matters adopting a clear and straightforward criterion for defining what official language status means. But it did a lot more. It made the school boards test students to decide whether they were to be placed in English or French schools. Conceivably, the controversies over this issue were heated. In 1976 the "Parti Québécois", a provincial party active since 1970 and committed to a separatist policy for Quebec, was elected to power with over 40% of the popular vote establishing majority in the National Assembly. The Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) was passed in 1977. It was undoubtedly a priority in the National Assembly. The Charter, as it is usually called, states that only French texts of laws, decrees and regulations are official. It also requires that every public utility and business firm obtain a "francization certificate" that will secure the highest status of French in the company. Public or subsidized instruction at the elementary or secondary levels should also be in French. The Charter has had profound effect on individuals and families and it is still premature to make a final assessment of its impact. The Charter is perhaps the piece of legislation that has attracted greatest interest among linguistic minorities in developing areas or areas undergoing legislative changes concerning language rights, such as the Basques and Catalans in Spain, or the Hispanic in the USA, who see the Charter as a culminating point in the process of attaining linguistic autonomy in a multilingual society. The effects of Bill 101 have already been felt. "Since 1978, the year from which Bill 101 can be considered to have begun its effect, enrolments in English schools have been estimated to decline twice as quickly as enrolments in French schools" (Mallea 1984: 239). However, "it is also worth noting that in Quebec it is possible for an English-speaking student to pursue studies all the way through to a Ph.D. in most of the major disciplines and at a world-ranking university, in English. This is patently not the case for francophone students outside Quebec" (Mallea 1984:245). For this reason it is conceivable that in the years to come the controversy will continue even though the gains of the status of French over English during the last decade may continue to serve as a model for many linguistic minorities.

However, it is important to note that the pieces of legislation that have attracted greatest interest from linguistic minorities outside Canada have only been authorized during the last two decades out of the 115 years of explicit language policy making that span from the British North America Act of 1867 to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982. There is a period of close to a century after the 1867 Act that is marked by a glaring lack of innovation concerning linguistic legislative changes. The reasons that explain why this was the case are not completely clear yet. The 1867 Act established a form of federalism based on cultural and linguistic dualism, quite unlike that in the USA for example. The 1867 Act provided the legal foundation for the coexistence between English and French for the next hundred years. Assaults on the language rights of francophones and various attempts to assimilate them proved the need to articulate more specific language legislation. The Canadian case shows that the rights of linguistic minorities will not be protected unless language legislation is passed to that effect. But the passage of language legislation requires a political base to work out the changes through the political process. These were the changes from the late sixties to the present. Without such a base the Federal Official Languages Act of 1969 or Bill 101 in Quebec, or the new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 would have had a hard time to pass.

It is interesting to note that the Charter of Rights of 1982 contrasts sharply with Bill 101 in reaffirming English and French as the official languages of Canada and the use of both languages in all governmental institutions. Reactions have been mixed. Pertinent sections (16-22) of the Charter have only been adopted by New Brunswick; Ontario refuses to adopt them, and Quebec has not yet adopted them even though, as it has been reported, many of the revisions made to the Charter tried to make it acceptable to the government of Quebec. On the other hand the Charter reduces the protection offered to non-official language minorities, and its provisions do not apply to immigrants "even to immigrants whose mother tongue or language of previous education is English" (Mallea 1984:244). Thus a distinction between immigrant languages and heritage languages seems to be in order in interpreting the provisions of the 1982 Charter. A discussion on language policy and heritage languages, offered by Cummins and Troper, seems quite timely.

Cummins and Troper in their contribution to this volume stress the assimilationistic ideology found among English Canadian educators from the start. Assimilationism disguised as Anglo-conformity is still assimilationism. If "the elimination of immigrant mother tongue use by children (in school) and, where possible, in the home became a primary goal of educators", the nature of the goal was still assimilationist regardless of how it was labelled. Cummins and Troper rightly point out that assimilationist ideologies did not progress evenly. Anglo-conformity was at best a mixed success in rural areas but it became a very difficult enterprise in urban areas populated by many thousands of foreigners from the most diverse extractions and origins. Educators thought assimilation of immigrant children "would be complete after several generations". However, people's willingness to change seems to be proportioned to the opportunities they encounter and children of immigrants "accepted or rejected the aspects of Anglo-conformism" which suited their own particular needs. The result was that "ethnicity survived the Anglo-conformism impulse in Canada just as it did in the melting pot in the United States".

Cummins and Troper point out to a change of Canada's self perception after World War II. Canada reaffirmed its right to separate and the ties with the British Empire changed. In growing to a mature nation it also found itself entangled in the complexity

of its own ethno-cultural makeup. The "quiet revolution" began, and "French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec, which had always been a fact of Canadian life, took a new aggressiveness". The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established. A new ideological change began to shape up as the Commission called for "recognition of the cultural contribution to Canadian society of the 'Other Ethnic Groups' and the virtual legitimization of ethnic groups as natural and healthy reflections of the evolving Canadian social pattern". Pluralism became a much more predominant ideology, the Anglo-conformity was repudiated, and the federal government stated its multicultural policy. This policy stated that it "would treat etnic groups as bearers of Canadian cultures and assist them to maintain their languages". Multiculturalism became a unique element in the Canadian cultural makeup, though this will be attained fundamentally through a bilingual English-French official structure. Cummins and Troper make it clear that "acceptance of multiculturalism in education, a field within provincial jurisdiction, has been an especially agonizing process" and that "perhaps nowhere was this more dramatic and problematic than in the area of language education". "Schools in the dawning era of 'Multiculturalism' confronted pressure to recognize, legitimize and teach 'third' languages, heritage languages".

In school districts where demand warranted, heritage language study became a reality. Provincial authorities must decide where the demand warrants language heritage study since in Canada education is under provincial jurisdiction. Cummins and Troper indicate that the aims of language heritage instruction are "to promote the continued vitality of ethnic cultures and to enrich children's educational experience" and point out the important differences that exist between programs like these and bilingual transitional programs in the United States. Heritage language study programs aim at cultural maintenance and educational enrichment and are not compensatory in nature. Significant numbers of children from different language backgrounds participate in these programs now, though the implementation of them differs from province to province. Thus, even though there may be room for further refinements a multicultural ideology is now in place.

In his contribution to this volume, Gendron deals with some political and ideological issues concerning the Quebec experience that cast some additional light on what the abundant literature on the subject has covered thus far. He identifies two different groups, each with its own perception and strength, as participants in the language planning process of Quebec. The first is the nationalists, the second the business community. The first was composed of French middle class who translated the foreseeable language gains in the status of French as advantageous to them over the more powerful English majority. The second, mainly English-speaking, considered that English had to remain the language of business as it facilitated communication and trade within the entire territory of North America. The Commission of Inquiry into the situation of the French language in the province of Quebec found these two views almost irreconcilable. It had a mandate to ensure the language rights of the French majority in the province, maintain the rights of the English minority and deal with the issue that English should remain as the language of business in North America. The solution proposed was State intervention in regulating the use of language of work without interfering too much in business and administrative communication. A distinction was made between the language needed for internal communication and the language to communicate with the outside world. The language of work was defined as the language used for internal communication, i.e. for communication with colleagues, subordinates and superiors. Quebec was considered an autonomous territory as far as the internal communication within the business world was concerned. A franci-

zation of internal communication in business was implemented, but it was perceived as the provincialization of the business world in Quebec, and a threat to the dominant position of English in Canadian business, and a potential loss of managerial power.

The Official Language Act (Bill 22) adopted by the Quebec National Assembly included general guidelines as well as a process of change based still on voluntary compliance. The francization process took new form with the passing of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) (Daoust-Blais 1983), though business firms did not react uniformly to francization. Firms which had begun implementing francization programs as the result of previous voluntary actions incurred only minimal costs while others had to pay very high costs involving changes in organizational structure, managerial personnel and employees, among other things. The new legislation formalized an ongoing language planning process and defined more precisely the implementation of a policy not clearly formulated. The implementation of the policy also differed from region to region according to demographic distribution, specially in the so-called areas of transition.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

There has been general agreement among scholars on the issue that demographic trends are essential to the formulation of language policy. Two well-known studies on demographic trends (Henripin 1977 and Caldwell 1977) acknowledged that French was losing ground not just in Canada in general but within the province of Quebec as well. Henripin was clear in pointing out that the trend was particularly serious in Montreal where French Canadians only made up two thirds of the population. He also stated that if immigrant groups continue to integrate into the English-speaking community rather than the French, the French-speaking community of Quebec could be seriously reduced in certain areas. This may result in loss of its voting power and consequently its law making ability through the election of governmental representatives. Caldwell reaches similar conclusions noting that language transfers in general and not only from immigrant groups have been in favor of English even in Quebec and suggests that measures must be taken to increase language transfers into French and particularly integrate immigrant groups.

In his contribution to this volume Cartwright takes a fresh look at demographic trends in Quebec. He says that between the English-speaking and the French-speaking cultures there is a "zone of transition" situated between French and English Canada and occupying segments of Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick. Policies in transition zones may range from exclusion to accommodation. One of the two coexisting cultures in a transition zone dominates over the other. The behavioral patterns of the dominant culture will move the entire system in three possible directions: integration, division or state of relative equilibrium. The latter presupposes that a balance situation has been attained. Cartwright considers it is important to understand the evolution of the relationships between francophone and anglophone in the transition zones of Quebec in order to understand whether the sociocultural balance heads toward integration or division. He provides an illuminating description of the evolution of the zone of transition in Quebec and suggests that a measure of Anglophone/Francophone divisiveness can be found. He proposes a language intensity index to "determine the vigour and extent of language usage by an ethnic group". This can be done by contrasting data regarding the language in which individuals are able to communicate with the census population of home language. A low measure in the language intensity index is taken as an indicator that outside the home people must

use the other official language for socialization practices. From his analysis he concludes that in many of the transition areas francophones and anglophones have had little interaction and no significant desire to learn the other official language. In some other areas, as it is well known, "it has been the francophone who learned the second official language" which has led to what some authors refer to as "unbalanced bilingualism". This is also the type of bilingualism most frequently found in the transition areas outside of Quebec. The unbalance revealed in this type of analysis shows the need to protect the language rights of linguistic minority groups with a low language intensity index by means of specific legislation designed to that effect. Such was the intent of laws such as the Official Language Act and the Charter of the French Language, by means of which the government of Quebec stated that if minority groups were to be Quebecers, regardless of whether they were anglophone or francophone, they would accept to be part of and develop Quebec culture and use and enrich the province's official language.

Cartwright indicates that the Charter of the French Language has contributed to maintaining the profile of the francophone population within the area of transition with the exception of the Ottawa Valley. He also believes that the situation would suggest that language use at the societal level is "strengthening in favor of French" and the intent of the Charter is being achieved. The government of Qubec is now in a position to make accommodations to the anglophones within the transition zone. Cartwright sees the idea, being considered now by the provincial government of Quebec, of organizing a school board system for English-speaking children in the transition zone as a positive and exemplary gesture to the government of Ontario. This consideration is also seen as "a positive thrust to the new spirit of accommodation" though the implementation of such a proposal would require some amendments to the Charter. A policy of accommodation is also spreading apparently beyond Quebec. Thus, integration begins to shape up as a distant but perhaps desirable ideological goal.

EDUCATION

Experimental programs of early French Immersion in Canada which started in 1965 were aimed at developing high levels of English-French linguistic competence in English-speaking children. The literature describing the student's progress in thy type of program is well known (Lambert & Tucker 1972, Lambert, Tucker and d'Anglejan 1973). The demands for French immersion programs in Canada have been on the increase (Swain &Barik 1976) and the immersion model of bilingual education in early grades has been replicated outside of Canada as well (Cohen 1975, 1976). However, these programs are not minority education programs. Attention paid to the problems of minority education in Canada, particularly native and immigrant groups, has not been significant and the literature dealing with such issues is very scarce.

The paper by Bain and Toohey in this volume deal with issues of minority education in Canada. Bain's main contention is that reciprocal respect in cultural and linguistic matters concerning relations with minority groups, as well as social and economical integration are desirable goals. However, since language plays such a central role in the attainment of these goals, the "way of facilitating these goals is through bilingual education properly conceived for each group". Bain acknowledges that formal education will not eliminate or eradicate social and economic inequities, though education should be "the arena in the search for social justice". He believes that the Canadian version of

liberal democracy has resulted in the illusory belief that the problem of education of linguistic minority groups is just language education. That the inequality of educational achievement may be due to inadequate learning of language items. Thus, attempts are made at resolving the problem with "language compensatory programs consisting of language learning strategies of one of the official languages".

Bain contends that patterns of migration and immigration have taken a new dimension during the seventies and eighties and believes that the new immigrants are becoming more insistent upon maintaining their "individual and cultural rights in their new homelands". He also believes that there is a rise in pluralistic consciousness and that ethnic groups are resisting "one way assimilation" and "insisting on the institutional privilege of the mainstream society". This type of new social contract may require two things. First, that if ethnic minority groups are to attain economic structural assimilation as well as maintaining cultural and linguistic identity they must become linguistically competent in the dominant language as well as their ethnic language. Second, that the attainment of such goals should not be perceived as significant not only by the ethnic minority group but also by the dominant group as well. In the Canadian context, the adjustments to satisfy the needs of ethnic groups are understood as requiring bilingual education in the ethnic language and in the dominant language. But Bain contends that "a whole new way of thinking about ethnocultural education is necessary" and that the heritage language programs do not seem to be enough to satisfy the needs of ethnic groups.

Toohey clearly states that the problems concerning Canadian Native children who go to school in either English of French and who speak only their native language have not received proper attention. Most Canadian Native children reside in the northern community and are schooled in English or French and receive the type of education "involving a home-school switch which is similar in some ways to that received by French immersion students". However, the problems Canadian Native children encounter in shcooling are quite different. Toohey conducted a study on the social and political context of English language education of speakers of Swampy Cree in a Native community in Fort Albany in northern Ontario, a community founded in the 1600's by European fur traders.

Fort Albany is geographically isolated, has about 700 residents, mostly Cree-speakers who subsist on government allocations. Cree is widely used in the community in spite of its contact with English for nearly 300 years and is the first language of all Cree-speakers in the community. However, schooling requires English, and literacy is introduced in English from first grade and students are exposed to a curriculum similar to that of any English medium school in southern Ontario. Though there are literacy classes in Cree in the orthographic system developed in the 1840's, most content area subjects are taught in English by non-Cree teachers. Though Cree-speakers show concern about their children's schooling, they do not partake in the policy making process that affects them and their children. These decisions, according to Toohey, are made by federal employees in locations far removed from the Cree community.

Recent evaluations have shown that Cree-speakers do not attain acceptable proficiency levels in English. Cree students in sixth grade do not reach the proficiency level of second grade anglophone students in northern Ontario. The situation is not only typical of the Fort Albany Cree-speaking community but of all northern Ontario Native students. This interesting case study invites reflection on the replicability or generalizability of the effectiveness of teaching methodologies that seem to have worked with certain groups

such as those participating in immersion programs. Thus, although home-language switch seems to have worked well among groups participating in immersion, Native students do not perform well in the language used at school. Thus, the generalizability of such methodology for Native Canadian students seems questionable. Canada has not yet developed the type of comprehensive language policy required to address the needs of Native Canadians, although Native people have expressed for a number of years interest in bilingual education. Toohey concludes that such policies should be developed not just for the sake of instructional effectiveness but in the name of "social justice for Native children".

IMMIGRANT GROUPS

Persi-Haines & Pringle contribute to the study of the problems that immigrant groups encounter in the Canadian society. The literature on immigrant groups is scarce and in this sense their contribution is welcomed. Their paper focuses, in particular, on the Italian community of Ottawa.

Haines & Pringle start with the assumption that Canadian policy favors the "integration of immigrants without assimilation" and that "immigrants are guaranteed the chance to participate equally in the benefits of Canadian society, but they are not compelled to give up their own cultural and linguistic identity", and that Canadian policy is to foster the maintenance of the immigrant's language and culture in so far as this does not prevent them from integrating themselves into the Canadian society. Their purpose is to consider the effect of such policies in the Italian community of Ottawa. Their conclusion is that though existing policy supports the right to maintaining the language of immigrant groups, such a goal is not attainable since immigrant groups develop a new language variety (the authors call "aberrant") through the process of integration into the Canadian society. Furthermore, though existing policy supports the rights of immigrants to preserve their culture, this goal is not attainable due to the fact that once the original culture is transposed into the Canadian setting it loses its identity and becomes something new, a Canadian version. The authors see in this a "double denial of acculturation": one linguistic, the other cultural. Their argument may be construed as follows.

Italian immigrant groups come from different linguistic varieties spoken in the Italian peninsula. The author point out that the diversity existing in the peninsula has been a source of controversy at least since Dante's times recognized as questione della lingua (the language question). They further state that "the language question deals with phenomena of diglossia" (Ferguson 1959) and that in the Italian context, "it concerns the co-existence of the superordinate standard language, two different kinds of vernacular Italian, local dialects, and in addition, other languages". In fact one may see some differences between the problems discussed by Dante in De Vulgare Eloquentia, which dealt with what criteria applied to the standard at the time and the diglossic distinction introduced by Ferguson between a high variety and a low variety, and the varieties existing in the Italian context. Thus, the analogy found between Dante's "language question" and Ferguson's diglossia seems a bit bewildering. One may also wonder as to whether the concept of diglossia most helpful to the authors in their analysis of the Italian varieties corresponds to Fishman's interpretation of such a concept rather than to Ferguson's (Fishman 1971, Cobarrubias 1983). The authors distinguish four varieties of Italian: 1) Standard Italian, 2) Regional Italian, 3) Local Dialects, 4) Regional Dialects. However,

the criteria they use to distinguish them are a bit unclear. For instance, they say that Regional Italian is a "modified standard", "syntactically aligned with the standard" though the lexicon and phonology may permit to identify the regional origin of the speaker. On the other hand, Regional Dialects are, according to the authors, "somewhat standardized but not codified" and share features with the Local Dialects and Regional Italian. It is difficult to understand exactly what the differences among these four varieties are, particularly between 2 and 4 since both of them are some kind of standard variety. It also seems necessary to use additional criteria to distinguish between 1 and 2, 1 and 4, which the authors do not provide.

Classification of dialectal Italian varieties has presented problems to scholars since the study of ancient Italian varieties (Devoto 1972) though recently there is some consensus as to taking the Spezia-Rimini isogloss as dividing the peninsula into two major areas (Correa-Zoli 1981). This, of course, does not preclude the distinction of other varieties, though clear criteria have to be used for such purpose.

In any event, Haines & Pringle's argument is that a local variety of Italian develops in the Canadian setting, which they refer to as a lingua franca and that "the variety spoken by the Ottawa Italian community is a crystallized, aberrant, idiosyncratic, not highly codified, extra-territorial variety of, and deviation from the Italian diglossia". This lingua franca is, according to the authors, "the product of two pidginizing tendencies", one endogenous the other exogenous. All this calls for some additional explanations the reader does not find in the body of the paper. The basic conclusion could have been reached much more straightforwardly: that the Canadian multicultural policies intending to support language maintenance of the ethnic language lead to the formation of a common language (lingua franca) within the Canadian setting. The way the next conclusion is reached is more bewildering.

Haines & Pringle draw an analogy between the emergence of the lingua franca and the emergence of a cultura franca in Canada. They say that based on "the diglossic situation of Italy one might describe its cultural situation as dicultural". Thus, "corresponding to standard Italian is Italian high culture, implying familiarity, through both exposure and education, with the great Italian tradition of art and literature; corresponding to the local dialects are the various regional cultures or sub-cultures". Whether or not a valid analogy beteen diglossia are the various regionsl cultures or sub-cultures". Whether or not a valid analogy between diglossia and diculture (whatever this may mean) can be made is highly controversial and the implications of such an analogy should be examined very carefully. Whether or not one could legitimately speak of a High culture and a Low culture in the same way one could speak of High and Low language varieties is a matter that may have unwanted consequences and repercussions.

The Haines & Pringle paper calls the reader's attention to the issue of integration of immigrant groups in the Canadian society, an issue that has not received the attention it deserves. It would also have been important to discuss whether and why groups of immigrants such as Italians show a greater tendency to integrate with the anglophone community than with the francophone community in spite of the fact that Italian is linguistically much more closely related fo French than to English. And again it would have been interesting to discuss the implications of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 for the Italian community. But this may be the topic of another paper.

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MULTICULTURALISM AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN CANADA

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It is something more than a cliche that the American Revolution created not just one but two political states in North America, the United States and Canada. With the end of fighting and the final settlement between the Crown and its rebellious subjects in the New World, many British Americans chose or were forced to abandon their homes. Thousands resettled in what remained of the British North American colonies to the north of the new Republic. The Loyalists, who eventually formed the core of the colonies' ruling oligarchies, were the first political refugees from the American experiment. They provided the ideological base, the political culture, and perhaps most important for this discussion, the myths which Canada nurtured through well over one hundred and fifty years.

These Loyalists who chose exile in Canada paid a heavy price for adherence to the Crown. Not only did they suffer personal hardship, the Loyalists were also confused, even baffled, by the prospects of exile. America — now the United States — was their home. On most matters they differed very little from their victorious neighbors. The liberal principles of John Locke were their principles.

In Canada, the Loyalists, who quickly established themselves as the elite bedrock on which Canadian political institutions and social organization would be constructed, carried with them an admiration and longing for their lost home. This was, of course, mixed with a repugnance for what the victors had inflicted on them. As Americans, these Loyalists sought to recreate much of their old home; anti-Republicans, hostile to the American experiment, they also assumed a posture as a vital outpost of British Imperial stability, institutions, and society. Canada's self-image as the most loyal of colonies, the "Britain of the north", was reinforced by a folklore of exile and aggravated by jealousy of the young Republic's successes.

Casting Canada as the outpost of Empire in the New Wolrd, a counterpoint to the excesses and debased morality represented by the United States, was only one half of the legacy bequeathed by the Loyalists. This exiled American community was not a facsimile of Britain in America, but a developing North American society with roots in the pre-revolutionary United States. Thus, the Loyalists also contributed to Canada a North American tradition.

It was the strength of this tradition, however, which came to pose a threat to Canadian political development. Canada long lived with the dilemma of being in North America yet not wanting to be of it. It remained unsure whether there was, indeed, room in North America for the simultaneous development of two separate peoples who by history and inclination are so similar. To put the Canadian dilemma in terms of the questions it raises: how was it possible for a second and distinct English-speaking North American people to develop in Canada when religion, economics, life-style, climate, geography, political culture, social outlook and family structure continued to bind them with Americans in the United States? If Canada were to encourage the growth of a distinct Canadian people, how could the end product of the Canadian process differ in any meaningful way from its American counterpart? Could a nationalist awakening among English-speaking Canadians result in anything less than the creation of a mirror image of American nationhood?

The paradox is obvious. To survive as a separate political entity, whether colony or self-governing, English Canadians had to be cautious of domestic nationalism. Canada had to downplay its North American roots. Indeed, Canadians might be North Americans, creations

of the New World context; they just could not admit it. Whatever the personal reality for the individual Canadian, the state had to adhere to the Loyalists' British Imperial legacy, strengthening it and even mythologizing it. Accordingly, by World War II, English Canada found itself to be a North American society but gave it British names and claimed it to be part of British Imperial continuity.

Commenting on the impact of Canada's Imperial ties, Canadian historian Arthur Lower wrote in 1950, "The wonder is that the tender plant of Canadian nationalism survived at all, for all little Canadian boys and girls have been subjected from the day on which they started school to an unending steeping in the liquid of Imperialism." (1950, p. 350). Whether "Canadian nationalism survived," or ever existed in the sense most Americans would understand, remains to be considered; however, Lower is correct in acknowledging the importance of the symbolic trappings of the Imperial tie within the English Canadian school system. In addition to studying British history and literature, not as separate from Canadian history and literature but *as* Canadian history and literature, English Canadian children were subjected to a daily ritual of saluting the Union Jack, singing "God Save the King", and pledging allegiance to the Crown. The Loyalists were resurrected and reconstructed. In this new incarnation in the school history curriculum they appeared not as Americans, which they were, but as noble British victims of American excess. Once in Canada, their inner strength overcame all hardships and in rejecting the United States they forged unbreakable links to the Empire. Within the Empire, the future belonged to Canada.

As in the United States, immigrants and their children posed educators with special problems. Unlike the United States, however, Anglo-Canadians generally rejected the melting pot metaphor. In theory, the melting pot envisioned a dynamic process of societal accommodation of new cultural elements. Immigrants did not simply become Americans. The melting pot continually introduced new elements into the American community to create a constantly changing American character. American culture, by definition, remained open to further changes as newer groups added to the whole. The American man was thus not an immutable model but a dynamic personality in flux, a constantly evolving ego.

Canadian educators, however, rejected the rhetoric of the melting pot. Their program, no less assimilationist, has been labelled Anglo-conformity. Anglo-conformity did not seek to create "a uniform race". It was based upon behavior modification. Within an Empire that already contained millions of every race, the civilizing mission of the white man had already become legend. It was not difficult, therefore, for Canadians to exploit this ideology of paternalism. In other words, Anglo-conformity did not require the foreigner to mix biologically with the Anglo-Saxon who was to act as his model. It only demanded that the foreigner behave as if he had.

If there was disagreement among English Canadian educators, it was over the possibility of particular groups changing cultural or behavioral patterns, even with them. Optimistic proponents of Anglo-conformity argued that, within reason, education could act as a genetic connective. Without having to undergo any debasing of the Anglo-Saxon superiority, something it was feared the melting pot had already inflicted on the American nation, education and Anglo-conformity could produce in Canadian immigrants — at least European immigrants and their descendants — a respect for British institutions and norms of behavior which they had not acquired by birth. The elimination of immigrant mother tongue use by children and, where possible, in the home became a primary goal of educators.

In spite of the rhetoric of Anglo-conformity, a rhetoric reminiscent of battle, with references to "strategic necessity" and "ultimate victory", one can also detect an undercurrent of public satisfaction that the Anglo-conformist movement was falling short of its mark, especially in rural Canada. If the "foreigners" stayed in the bush or on the prairies, content to play the economic and social role allotted to them, leaving English Canada free

of contact with the "foreign element", many English Canadians were pleased to allow the issue to rest. So long as they remained isolated from "real Canadians" and "knew their place", many Canadians would happily leave newcomers alone.

Rural Canada, however, was not the only Canada. In the years before World War I, Canadian cities attracted thousands of immigrants considered inferior or unassimilable. Jews, Italians, Chinese, Finns, Russians, and other South and East Europeans faced a special difficulty, particular to Canada, which enhanced prejudice against them. The problem was that Canada's government, her churches, educational system, and most of her population saw no advantage to the rapid growth of cities, especially cities populated by foreigners. This was not the product of Canadian-styled Arcadian ideal; it was a function of Canadian economic-development demands which then, as now, gave primacy to resource exploitation. The new arrivals in the city were far from the ideal Northern European or British settler that Canada preferred. It was preferred that they be headed for the bush, a homestead, or a company town. That Canadian economic necessity dictated the admission of many otherwise undesirable immigrants was bad enough. To find them rejecting their alloted economic niche in rural Canada and becoming conspicuous by their presence in cities was still worse.

Immigration which filled empty spaces was attractive. Foreigners were necessary as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Immigration which brought increased urbanization or job competition for the native artisan and commercial classes in the city was unwelcome. Yet, unwelcome though they were, foreigners arrived in the cities. They found work building the infra-structure of the Canadian urban complex and supplied the sweat for its burgeoning industrial base.

If Anglo-conformity was a mixed success in rural Canada, it was an absolute necessity for the children of these foreigners in the city. Otherwise, it was feared, their alien customs could become the common denominator and a model for others who might be influenced by their ways. In an address entitled "The Redemption of the City", an observer commented of Toronto in 1913, "we do not have to go six blocks away from Massey Hall, Toronto", where he was speaking, "to find a whole city-full — I do not say a Toronto-full but a city-full — of people that are at any rate non-Anglo Saxon, a large proportion of them non-Christian, and a goodly proportion of them, whether non-Anglo-Saxon or non-Christian, pagan in life". (Shearer, 1913, p. 171).

The urban school, already a bulwark in the struggle to maintain the British ideal, entered the front lines in the struggle to turn the children of immigrant Jews, Italians, Macedonians, Ukrainians, and Finns into Canadians, into British subjects. The process of Anglo-conformity was not without pain. In a novel about an immigrant family in pre-World II Winnipeg, the central character, a young boy named Sandor, tries to explain to his father the unease of being an outsider.

> "The English", he whispered. "Pa, the only people who count are the English. Their fathers got all the best jobs. They're the only ones nobody calls foreigners. Nobody ever makes fun of their homes or calls them "bologny-eaters", or laughs at the way they dress or talk. Nobody," he concluded bitterly, "because when you're English it's the same as bein' Canadian", (Marlyn, 1964, p. 24).

Once again, the public school system would prove hard-pressed to transform immigrant children into a copy of the Anglo-Saxon ideal held out to them. Educational planners of this era, like many historians since, generally assumed assimilation into the mainstream of life on this continent would be complete after several generations. That view, however, was too simple. People are not absorbed, integrated, accultured, or assimilated. The will to change or persist in their former ways depends upon the opportunities they encounter. Life for immigrants and their children was a never-ending series of conscious and unconscious adaptations to new situations. Schooling was only one such adaptation. So was their pattern of language use.

As a result, children of immigrants accepted or rejected those aspects of the Anglo-conformist vision which complemented particular needs or aspirations. The child, especially the urban immigrant child learned to balance the degree of conformity necessary for successful integration into the school environment against the degree of adherence to Old World ways necessary for stability in the home. The degree of maneuvrability between these two poles may have differed from group to group, family to family, and child to child, but in this adjustment came continuity — continuity with school, family, and indeed Canadian tradition of functional adaptation in which one was acclimatized to a new environment on one's own terms.

Ethnicity survived the Anglo-conformist impulse in Canada just as it did in the melting pot in the United States. In the process, however, immigrant groups became ethnic groups and as such became North American. If they did not become Americans or English Canadians, by the standards of the day, it must also be conceded that these domestic standards changed, too.

It was World War II and its aftermath that finally laid the British Imperial connection to rest, undermining the myth on which Canadian political culture was based and, therefore, making Anglo-conformity irrelevant. Although it would be several years before its full impact was felt, a shift had taken place in the Canadian position in the world and in Canadians' perception of their community. In the first instance, the war itself had coalesced Canadian "national" sentiment in a way that no previous event had done. Although the trappings of the Imperial tie remained omnipresent, Canadian military exploits were employed by the domestic propaganda machine to generate support for the war. This fomented a sense of separate sacrifice — separate from the Americans who remained neutral from September 1939 until Pearl Harbor, but also from Great Britain. Canadians fought alongside soldiers of the mother country and other allied dominions not as part of a single Imperial army. Canada, thus, affirmed its right to seperate and equal status at any peace negotiations and any subsequent international gatherings.

If the Imperial connection was grayed by the war effort, the war soon made the core of the Imperial connection, the Empire itself, a thing of the past. First Palestine and India, then all of black Africa, and eventually the entire British colonial structure, was lost. The white dominions, which had been locked by myth, if not by fact, into a vision of gradually sharing the burden of Imperial destiny, went their own ways. The Commonwealth of Nations proved a pale shadow of the British Empire and offers little or nothing to which Canadian pride or destiny can be hitched. Whatever Canada's future would bring, it could no longer be locked in step with Imperial greatness.

Canada, set adrift from the Imperial mythology, feeling the uncomfortable weight of a new-found national pride, yet every bit as enamored of the material benefits of the American dream as its southern neighbor, now encountered a new shock to its cultural conditioning. Rumblings of discontent in Quebec after World War II found new expression during the late 1950's and early 1960's in what soon became known as the Quiet Revolution. French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec, which had always been a fact of Canadian life, took on a New aggressiveness.

It is not within the purview of this article to outline the continuing dilemma of Quebec in Canada, but it is important to note that that Quiet Revolution and the specter of separation prompted the Canadian government in 1963 to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate and make recommendations to government on the wider implications of the new social and cultural realities in Canada. Under its terms of reference, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was authorized

> to inquire and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on

> the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures to be taken to safeguard that contribution. (1966, p. 151).

The reference to the "other ethnic groups" proved to be far more than condescending tokenism. If the Commission began deliberations with the assumption that the central issue was one of resolving only solitudes, one English and one French, it was soon disabused of that notion. In addition to the disquieting energy of a reconstructed *Quebecois* nationalism and an uneasy English-Canadian community adrift in the post-British era, the Commission confronted economically resourceful, politically self-assured, increasingly articulate, and socially restless Canadian ethnic communities.

As they moved out of the shadows of marginality into the center of the identity debate, ethnic communities demanded recognition, not simply as domestic power blocs, but as the very essence of the Canadian cultural fabric. With the devaluation of Anglo-conformity as a viable social philosophy and the decline of the British connection as the basis of English Canadian self-definition, ethnic communities asserted that cultural pluralism was the essential key to understanding any Canadian identity. English-French biculturalism was at best an anachronism and at worst a plot to continue subjugation of the "other ethnic groups". The bedrock of Canadian identity, the ethnic communities now pressed, was multiculturalism.

In 1970, the Commission addressed these aspirations in Book IV of its final report, entitled *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups.* Commission recommendations called for recognition of the cultural contribution to Canadian society of the "Other Ethnic Groups" — a term which in itself implies that all Canadians are members of one ethnic group or another — and the virtual legitimization of ethnic groups as natural and healthy reflections of the evolving Canadian social pattern.

Twenty-five years after World War II ended, the British Imperial connection was indeed dead. Its domestic missionary impulse, Anglo-conformity, was seemingly repudiated. Pluralism was the order of the day.

It took just one year for the federal government to respond to the Commission's thrust into pluralism. When it did, it went further than many observers expected and others — mainly in the province of Quebec — wanted. Amid charges that it was attempting to squelch Quebec's legitimate national aspirations by equating its cause with that of minority ethnic groups, the federal government announced its multicultural policy.

In an official policy statement read to the House of Commons, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau outlined a program which, within a bilingual English-French framework, would treat ethnic groups as bearers of Canadian cultures and assist them to maintain their languages. The lines remain somewhat blurred between multiculturalism as a policy for maintaining intact tradition, heritage, language and even separation, and multiculturalism as a policy for encouraging freedom, growth, sharing, and interchange within and between ethnic groups. Nevertheless, Canadians were told that ethnic group activity and cultural development within a bilingual framework was now the rule. We had officially entered an era of "unity with diversity" or, perhaps, "unity through diversity".

Thus, multiculturalism, filling the identity vacuum left in the wake of World War II, made yesterday's vices into today's virtues. Rather than lament the failure of Anglo-conformity and assault the continuity of ethnicity as a demonic threat to cohesion, as an earlier generation would surely have done, the new policy proudly champions the mosaic. Furthermore, the survival of ethnic identity in Canada, as in the United States, in spite of the best efforts of past educators and other guardians of the gate, is now toasted as that unique element in the Canadian cultural pattern which assures Canada of a separate character from the United States.

It should not be supposed that multiculturalism is a shell game with Canadian identity as the pea, or a political juggling act balancing ethnic group aspirations against the need for domestic harmony. While these elements are undoubtedly present, one must not forget that Canadians today, just as before, need a myth to help them integrate into a North American context without their becoming Americans. If multiculturalism is not a permanent solution to this classic Canadian dilemma, it may at least afford a temporary respite.

In the decade following the federal multiculturalism initiative, provincial governments considered its ramifications for their jurisdictions. Most have endorsed the ideals of multiculturalism and by the early 1980's a variety of multicultural programs and in some cases official provincial policies were in place.[1] Acceptance of multiculturalism in education, however, a field within provincial jurisdiction, has been an especially agonizing process. Working so long within an Anglo-conformity framework, certain that remaking the immigrant child was not simply a duty but a sacred trust, the school system was forced to re-examine past assumptions and design curricula to conform to multicultural imagery. Perhaps nowhere was this more dramatic and problematic than in the area of language education. After years of trying to suppress languages other than English or French as part of the battle to stamp out ethnicity, schools in the dawning era of "Multiculturalism" confronted pressure to recognize, legitimize and teach "third" languages, heritage languages. Professional educators, long the cutting edge of Anglo-conformity, stood by incredulous as the fear of ethnic voters forced politicians to weigh the financial and political costs of resisting a growing chorus of demand for heritage language teaching within the public school. Playing both sides against the middle, politicans and school boards slowly developed a dictum of "sufficient demand." Where demand warranted, heritage language study was built into school programs in one form or other.

Since education in Canada is a provincial rather than federal jurisdiction, provincial educational authorities must decide what constitutes "sufficient demand". In recent years heritage language instruction has been instituted in the public elementary school systems of several provinces. The publicly stated aims of these language programs are to promote the continued vitality of ethnic cultures and to enrich children's educational experience. In other words, unlike most bilingual programs in the United States, they are not compensatory in nature.

In 1971 Alberta became the first province to legalize use of languages other than English or French as mediums of instruction in the public school system, largely as a result of pressure from the third and fourth generation Ukrainian community. Currently, bilingual programs involving Ukrainian, German, Hebrew, Chinese, and Arabic respectively exist in several elementary schools in Edmonton. In these programs the heritage language is used as the language of instruction for 50% of the school day throughout the elementary school. In 1982-83 a total of 2,172 students were enrolled in these bilingual heritage programs; the Ukrainian program proved the largest with 1,277 students enrolled between kindergarten and grade 10 in six school jurisdictions. (see Jones, 1984).

In the late seventies, Saskatchewan and Manitoba passed enabling legislation permitting the use of heritage languages as languages of instruction for up to 50% of the public school day. In 1980-81, 320 students were enrolled in the Manitoba English-Ukrainian bilingual program. In 1981-82 an English-German bilingual program was implemented in Manitoba and a Hebrew bilingual program followed in 1982-83. The English-Ukrainian bilingual program in Saskatchewan had 76 students enrolled in three schools as of 1981-82.

In Ontario it remains illegal to use languages other than English and French as mediums of instruction in the public school system except on a temporary basis to help children acquire English skills. However, in 1977, the Ontario Ministry of Education instituted the Heritage Languages Program under which funding is provided to school boards for the teaching of heritage languages for up to 2-1/2 hours per week outside the regular 5 hour

school day. In 1981-82 there were 81,993 students representing more than 50 language groups enrolled in the Heritage Languages Program. This figure represents an increase of more than 25,000 students since the first year of the program.

In predominantly francophone Quebec, English could be legally used until recently as the language of instruction in the public school system only for children whose parents are English-speaking and who had themselves been educated in English schools in Quebec. French was the legal language of instruction for all others. This Provincial Law has recently (August, 1982) been declared unconstitutional by the Quebec courts but that ruling is currently under appeal. In 1978 the programme de l'enseignement des langues d'origine (PELO) was started by the Quebec provincial government. Similar to Ontario's Heritage Language program, the PELO involves teaching Italian, Portuguese, Greek and Spanish as well as several Indo-Chinese languages to children of these backgrounds for 30 minutes per day. However, unlike the Ontario program, this instruction usually takes place as part of the regular school day. In 1982-83, 1,629 students were enrolled under this program.

It is clear that both the numbers of students receiving heritage language instruction in the public elementary school and the types of programs vary widely between provinces. By contrast, there is relative uniformity of programs for minority francophones in all Canadian provinces. These programs usually vary from between 50 and 100 percent of the day through French from Kindergarten through grade 12. For Native peoples, there has been a revival in teaching languages across Canada and some bilingual programs have also been started. In addition to these programs operating within the public school system there are many heritage language classes operated by the minority linguistic communities themselves on Saturday mornings or after school hours. These classes are eligible for financial assistance from the Federal Government under its Cultural Enrichment Program. During the 1981 fiscal year 633 grants were made under this program for heritage language instruction to almost 100,000 students.

There are two publicly acknowledged rationales for these heritage language programs: first, cultural maintenance, and second, educational enrichment. For the most part, those enrolled in the bilingual programs, especially in western Canada, are third generation students who are not fluent in the heritage language on entry to the program. Thus, the principal aims of the programs are to revive the language and help students appreciate their cultural heritage. As in French immersion programs, however, parents view the acquisition of a second language as an educationally enriching experience, provided of course this can be achieved at no cost to students' English language skills.

The same rationales apply to the more limited Ontario and Quebec programs, although there is a much greater proportion of first and second generation students in these programs than in their western Canadian counterparts. The Ontario and Quebec programs also involve what can be termed a "survival" rationale. That is, one of the aims of incorporating heritage language teaching into school curriculum is to help minority students, including many recent immigrants, "survive" educationally. It is argued that teaching heritage languages in the public school will help students overcome emotional and academic adjustment difficulties by improving their self-concept and by enhancing ethnic self-esteem.

It should not be supposed that bilingual or heritage language programs were willingly and openly embraced by educators or the larger civic culture. Old Anglo-conformist views of the world die hard — even after declarations of federal and provincial support for Multiculturalism echoed across the political landscape. Nowhere, perhaps, did educational debate, political manoeuvrings and intercommunity malevolence reach a level of white heat to match that of Toronto where today almost half of all household heads were born outside of Canada.

In the early 1970's, prompted by the federal and provincial support for Multiculturalism and the increasingly obvious presence of large numbers of non-English background

(ESL) students, educators in several Metropolitan Toronto Boards of Education began to re-examine assumptions underlying school language curricula and policies. This awakening by the school boards was spurred by the fact that immigrant organizations were increasingly insistent in expressing concerns about their children's education. For example in the late '60s the Dante Society, a cultural organization claiming to speak for Metropolitan Toronto's more than 400,000 Italians, pointed out that about 70% of students in vocational and technical schools were from immigrant families; they accused the Toronto Board of deliberately streaming immigrant students out of academically-oriented pre-university classes.

The focus of ethnic group concerns in the early 70's shifted increasingly towards heritage language teaching. This debate has gone through several phases.

1. Phase I. Initial Skirmishes

The first shot in what subsequently turned into Toronto's ten-year heritage language battle was fired in April 1972; it was a proposal for an Italian-English bilingual program. The Board heard a modified of the plan one year later and after considerable negotiation with the Ministry of Education about what was permissible under the Schools Administration Act, the kindergarten Italian transition program emerged. At the same time the Board approved "bicultural/bilingual immersion" programs for Chinese and Greek students. These programs, seen largely as a tool for immigrant adjustment, involved 30 minutes a day of Chinese or Greek culture with some language taught by volunteers. In the case of Chinese, the program was on a withdrawal basis during the school day in two schools, while the Greek program was taught after hours (see Deosaran and Gershman, 1976 for an evaluation of the Chinese program).

The provincial Ministry of Education during these debates showed no "clear policy, except to unbend as little as necessary to avoid confrontation" (Lind, p. 50). What is more, the label "bicultural/bilingual immersion" given these programs, underscored the vast difference between the way the term "immersion" was used in these programs as compared to French "immersion" programs. "The euphemism" Lind argued, "was nothing but a gimmick for getting a bureaucratically acceptable program past the parents on the one hand and the Ministry on the other". (Lind, 1974, p. 53).

2. Phase II. The Work Group in Multicultural Program

In May 1974 the Toronto Board set up the Work Group on Multicultural Programs to investigate the philosophy and programs related to the city's multi-ethnic and multilingual population. As stated in the Work Group's Draft report issued in May, 1975, drastic rethinking of these programs was necessary in view of the fact that, "the shocking recognition for the Board of Education for the City of Toronto is that within the space of a decade its CULTURAL BASE HAS BECOME INCOMPATIBLE (emphasis in original) with the cultural base of the society which supports its endeavour". (1975, p. 5).

The Draft Report recommended, among other things, that the provincial Ministry of Education be requested to amend the Ontario Education Act to allow languages other than English or French to be used both as mediums and subjects of instruction at the primary level. This stepped well beyond any use of heritage language as a tool in immigrant integration. The Report also recommended that existing "bicultural-bilingual" and transition programs be continued and expanded and that the Board continue to be responsive to requests for the institution of "third" or "heritage" language subject credit programs at the secondary school level.

These recommendations were based on the strong community (usually ethnic community) support in the briefs and consultations for proposals related to maintenance of

original culture and language and the teaching of and through third languages. In the Work Group's Final Report it pointed out that publication of its Draft Report evoked a response from "newly participating groups in opposition to certain 'ideas' contained in the report". Not surprisingly, concerns with ghettoization and cost were mixed with charges that "ethnic demands" were outrageous; specifically, it was felt by many that immigrants or their parents and grandparents chose to come to this country. They should therefore accept the existing educational and social system. If they chose to maintain the home language, it should be done in the home. The view was also expressed that language maintenance, whether in the home or school, was educationally ill-advised because it would impede students' acquisition of English.

The strength of this "significant minority opinion" together with the Ministry's unwillingness to change the Education Act led the Work Group to withdraw its recommendations related to teaching third languages.

3. Phase III. The Heritage Languages Program (HLP)

In the spring of 1977 a compromise Heritage Languages Program (HLP) was announced. It represented a carefully considered attempt to accommodate the persistent "ethnic demands" while minimizing the backlash from those opposed to publically-supported heritage language teaching. Under the plan, the Ministry provides virtually 100 percent of the operating costs, based on a per-pupil formula, for 2-1/2 hours of instruction per week to school boards who agree to implement a program at the request of community groups. Thus, the initiative must come from the community but School Boards are under no obligation to accede to community requests and in several cases have resisted implementing a program despite strong ethnic community pressure.

There are three basic options for when classes may be held: on weekends; after the regular 5-hour school day; or integrated into a school day extended by half-an-hour. This latter option is the predominant one in the Metropolitan Separate School Board which operates by far the largest heritage language program.

Because the HLP is funded under a separate Continuing Education Program, instructors need not have Ontario certification and can be paid at a lower rate than regular certified teachers. Also, no major changes were required in the Education Act since the program was being offered outside regular school hours. Thus, the program appeared to represent a reasonable compromise wherein the concerns of the ethnic communities could be accommodated without excessively alienating other community interests. However, the initial reaction of those opposed to the program was vehemently hostile. In the words of a Ministry official, the phone rang constantly for three weeks with people voicing their disapproval.

The Ministry also appears to have been caught off-guard by the demand for the program. Costs for 1977-78 has been estimated at 1-1 1/2 million dollars but actually totalled about 5 million and have risen appreciably every year since then as enrolment has continued to rise. The size of the HLP can be seen in the fact that its enrolment (1981-82) is approximately the same as that of all types of French immersion programs across Canada (more than 80,000 students).

In short, it can be assumed that, as a result of implementing the HLP, the Ontario Ministry is acutely aware of the costs, both financial and political, of accommodating any further to "ethnic demands".

4. Phase IV. The Third Language Workgroup Report (1982)

As a result of dissatisfaction with aspects of the HLP, most notably its implication that heritage language teaching was not a legitimate part of students' "regular" education, the

Ukrainian and Armenian communities placed proposals before the Toronto Board in the Spring of 1980 for the establishment of "Alternative Language Schools", essentially magnet schools in which the heritage language would be taught for half-an-hour during an extended school day but school announcements and incidental "non-instructional" conversation could also be in the heritage language as a means of providing students with a greater amount of meaningful input in the language. These proposals evoked a public outcry of "ghettoization" and "balkanization" and were savaged by the press.

In June 1980, the Toronto Board referred the entire question of third language instruction to a Work Group. After extensive community consultation and visits to the Ukrainian-English bilingual programs in western Canada, the Work Group issued its final report in March 1982. It recommended that the heritage language program should be gradually integrated into a regular extended school day where feasible and also that, as a long-term strategy, the Board work towards the implementation of bilingual and trilingual programs involving heritage languages. With an eye to the future, the Board petitioned the Ministry to adopt enabling legislation with respect to language of instruction. The ensuing debate was divisive and bitter. The lines clearly drawn between newly emergent ethnic community leaders flexing muscle and the entrenched Anglo-Canadian community seeing a vision of Canada eroded. Politicians, school boards and, of course, children, were caught in the middle. Almost 200 oral submissions were made to the Board which finally approved the Report on May 5, 1982. The style of the debate is summed up by the *Toronto Star*.

> "In essence it (the debate) seems to be a battle over the Canadian identity: are we stronger because of our cultural diversity, or weakened by institutionalizing it? It's been marred at times by charges of racism on one side and misrepresentation on the other, invective, catcalls and telephoned threats to trustees. Callers also have harrassed board staff". (May 4, 1982).

The basic arguments in the debate were not very different from those in previous Toronto debates on the issue, although the pitch and the level of community involvement on both sides was undoubtedly more shrill. Those arguing for the Work Group report stressed the pain of language and culture loss among their children and cited research findings which supported both heritage language teaching in general and bilingual and trilingual programs in particular. The vitality of bilingualism and trilingualism as *educational* goals for their children was stressed.

Opponents tended to focus on the alleged financial and social consequences of implementing the Report. A letter to the *Globe and Mail* on April 17, 1982 by Trustee Michael Walker made these consequences explicit:

> "If this report is passed, it would probably result in the segregation of children along linguistic and cultural lines, the busing of children on a major scale across the city, using linguistic and cultural quota to staff schools with teachers and very large additional costs to the taxpayer...
> The recommendations of this report will guarantee second-class status to any student attending a third language school and be of great disservice to the community at large. I also believe it will ultimately tear the public school system apart in Toronto.

A letter to the *Toronto Star* pointed out that many immigrants "are *quietly* (our emphasis) preserving their own language in their homes and circles of friendship" and went on to suggest that "it is unlikely that there is spare money around for this luxury, unless *we are all* (our emphasis) willing to pay higher taxes". Similar financial concerns were expressed in another letter to the *Star*: "Surely, from a financial standpoint, there is a matter of priorities here. If so much as a single dollar extra can be found in any budget for the implementation of the Third Languages Report, should that dollar not be spent on the more

urgent of our problems? " Another *Star* article posed the question: "How are these ethnic children ever going to integrate and assimilate into the Canadian culture stream if they do not possess English? "

It is clear that this most recent Toronto debate escalated beyond the merits or otherwise of the specific proposals contained in the Work Group report. The concerns of opponents were not diminished by the presence of almost 30,000 students in integrated heritage language classes in the Metropolitan Separate School Board at no extra cost to taxpayers, with no hint of ghettoization nor academic difficulties as a result of the program.

Conclusion

The issues in the heritage languages debate go to the core of Canadian identity and illustrate why the "persistent ambiguities" in the federal multi-culturalism policy remain unresolved. The demographic strength and increased economic security of the ethnic minority population in Metropolitan Toronto, both immigrant and those children and grandchildren of immigrants, appear to have allowed them to reject the two options proferred by the dominant societal group, namely, to forego their languages and cultures and become invisible and inaudible in the promise of mass acceptance, or, alternatively, to maintain their languages and cultures but to do it "quietly", at their own expense, without in any way affecting the linguistic and cultural status quo. Instead, the ethnic communities have articulated *their* priorities as *Canadian* taxpayers and have shown themselves willing to fight for these priorities in the political arena. What is being challenged both visibly and audibly, is the core value of Anglo-conformity which still persists underneath the veneer of "Multiculturalism" among the significant proportion of the Canadian public. The outcome of this continuing debate will very likely help define what "Multiculturalism" really means in the Canadian context.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The notion of "multiculturalism" is rejected in Quebec because of its explicit endorsement of the equality of all Canadian cultures. Instead Quebec cultural policy draws on the notion of "interculturalism", that is, acceptance and communication between cultural groups which are culturally and linguistically distinct, but within the framework of a francophone society.

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DEFINING LANGUAGE POLICY IN A NATIONALISTIC MILIEU AND IN A COMPLEX INDUSTRIALIZED REGION: THE QUEBEC CASE

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Language policy and language planning have often dealt with examples drawn from developing countries, with the pecularities attached to the language situation and to the ethnic, social, economic and political organizations of these countries. But western countries are full of linguistic problems which need political intervention.

One may think of Belgium, Yugoslavia and more recently, Spain, to give these countries as examples. In North America, Canada appears to be an interesting case, and, in Canada, the province of Quebec, with a French-speaking majority (80% of the population) and a powerful English-speaking minority (11%). One should however keep in mind that this French majority is itself a minority in the whole of Canada, that is to say in the eleven other provinces and territories (25.7% of the Canadian population).

The perceived situation of the French language in Quebec and in Canada by nationalistic groups incited the Quebec government to remedy this situation in the sixties, by setting up a Commission of Inquiry into the status of the French language in the province of Quebec.

On the one hand, the problem was to shed some light on the use of the French language in comparison with that of the English language, and in so doing, take into account the linguistic rights of the English speaking minority and the fact that, in Quebec, the economic life and business relations were closely interwoven with the North American network. The Commission's terms of reference were very clear on these points. (Rapport de la Commission d'enquête, 1973, Tome I, pages IV et V; aussi pages 1 à 7).

Later on, taking into account the findings of the inquiry, the Commission had to find a solution which insured the reinforcement of the position of the French language as a means of communication, while preserving the linguistic rights of the English minority and, to some extent, the use of English as a means of communication in industrial and business relations.

My purpose is to draw some conclusions from the Quebec experience in defining language policy in this province of Canada. I mean in a nationalist milieu and a rather complex industrial region, particularly, Montreal, the metropolis.

Thus, I will deal with:

The relations between the nationalist and the economical forces in the Quebec society, when defining language policy, and the solutions one may imagine to preserve the balance.

Two main forces and two conceptions of the development of Quebec faced themselves in the society, about the issue of the so-called linguistic problem:

- the nationalist force
- the business milieu

The first — ***the nationalist*** — was composed of the members of the new French middle class, which had been developing itself rapidly in Quebec since the Quiet Revolution: civil servants, employees of the parapublic sector, union managers, professors, etc.

They had a ***political*** and ***ideological*** conception of the whole problem, and, the linguistic affair appeared to be a very good opportunity to have an advantage over the

powerful English minority: they wanted to considerably weaken the social and economic positions of the latter through the debates and the issues centered on the linguistic problem, without worrying too much about the economic consequences; they regarded the province of Quebec as an entity, self-sufficient, as if it were not integrated in the Canadian or, better, in the North American economic network.

This group summarized its position in the motto: "Maître chez-nous" (Masters at home) and they wanted Quebec to become as French unilingual as the province of Ontario was officially English unilingual (and the rest of Canada, too, at the time).

In its briefs, the nationalist group said (Côté et Hamelin, Synthèse 4, Le contenu des mémoires présentés à la Commission, 1973):

1. That the French majority will get a minority in the province of Quebec, and first in the great Montreal, if the school problem was not settled in favour of the Francophones; that means if the children of immigrants were not to attend the French school; this was the most acute problem to deal with; this is what we may call the *demo-linguistic problem*;
2. That in the business world, that means large firms owned by English Canadians and foreigners, the representatives of the French majority, if any, were considered as natives in a Colony, English-speaking people being at the highest level and French-speaking people at the bottom level; this problem may be called the *social and professionnal mobility problem*;
3. That the French language was seen as a low or second-rate language, useful for French-speaking people or for local uses, but not in business, nor to interact with English-speaking people or to advertise products, etc.; this problem may be called the *symbolic problem*.

On the other hand, the *business milieu* had completely opposed views, stating that business, in North America, had to be done in English and that the absence of Francophones at high levels was due to the failure of the French school system to train good managers. Thus, people in Quebec — speaking French or other languages — had to learn English and management — preferably in English schools and universities — and had to work in English, not necessarily on the floor, for the blue collars, but for management operations, written or spoken, at middle and high levels.

The conception of the business leaders — mostly English speaking but, also, in part, French-speaking — was that North America is a whole economic territory and network, open as possible, with free circulation for persons, capital and goods, and, — to facilitate communications — with one language: English. This was the *economic conception* of the linguistic problem and, for these people, the future of Quebec in North America. (De Brouwer, E12, Le français langue de travail: ce qu'en pensent les élites économiques du Québec, 1974).

Related to this problem was the fact that the English-speaking members of the business milieu appeared to be the true leaders of the English Quebec minority and the champions of the English language as the language of work, and, as the predominant language in many activities in Quebec. The French-speaking businessmen were divided, but believed mostly that English had to remain the predominant language in business communications in the province of Quebec, above all, in Montreal.

Consequently, the Commissioners faced two opposite conceptions for the future of Quebec in the language issue. And this opposition between the business leaders — mostly English-speaking — and the French leaders of the new middle class was total and appeared impossible to reconcile or to compromise.

This dilemma therefore consisted of the following facets:

- on the one hand, there were some facts that illustrated the neccessity of improving the position of the French language in Quebec, and the position of the French-speaking Quebecers in large firms owned by English Canadians and foreigners (mostly Americans) (Rapport, Tome I, pages 11 à 130; Inagaki, Etude E16, la présence francophone... 1973); this was in agreement with the part of the mandate asking to insure the linguistic rights of the French majority; and in so doing, one may think it will give more prestige to both the French language and French people in Quebec, so as to become more attractive to immigrants and their children, thus making these people more willing to learn French and to join the French community, with the result, ín the long run, of removing the demo-linguistic threat strongly felt by many Francophones of the new middle class;
- on the other hand, the Commissioners had to preserve the rights of the English minority and to take into account the fact that the English language must remain compulsory to do business in Canada and in North America.

The Commissioners thus had to preserve the balance between economic reality and nationalist claims; they realized that the "French unilingual motto" appeared to be a bit unrealistic when considering business in North America; they also had to take into account the dimension of the linguistic prestige and linguistic usefulness in establishing the general position of the groups and languages in contact; they had, moreover, to distinguish what was purely linguistic in the problem and what was social, professional or ethnic competition.

The solutions to the problem

The opposition between the nationalist group and the business milieu posed finally the linguistic problem as one of ***language of work***, above all in large industrial, commercial and financial firms. And later, as an indirect result, in other institutions owned or managed by English-speaking people. In other words, referring to Fishman's domain theory, what was at stake were the languages to be used to communicate in the business milieu and in doing business; and, also as it appeared later, to communicate with the various types of public administration.

It appears that the basic solution to the whole Quebec linguistic problem was to propose State intervention in the use of language as language of work. But how could the State achieve this without interfering too much in business and management communications? Some practical conceptions had to be developed so as to find an acceptable way of solving the problem:

First: a typology of communication had to be drawn and a definition of language of work had to be formulated;
Second: the business world had to be thought of as many autonomous organizations with head offices and plants;
Third: from the communication point of view, the Quebec territory had to be conceived, on the one hand, as a whole linguistic territory — a linguistic territory per se — and, on the other hand, as an open territory.

A typology of communication

Businessmen used to say in briefs, in interviews or when you were talking with them, that it was impossible to have French as language of work, because one cannot use it to communicate with New York, or Toronto, or Chicago. There was evidently something true and something erroneous in that saying. In fact, businessmen were playing with words. But the assertion would become clear only later on (De Brouwer, 1974).

At first, one may concede they were right. And so, French could not be a language of work in Quebec; that is a language of communication for business administration. But later, it appears that one communicates not only with New York, Toronto or Chicago, but, also, with the persons working within the organization. The distinction was thus made between *outside* communications and *inside* communications. This distinction was crucial to generate a solution which could be acceptable to both French and English people.

In a research for the Commission, it was made clear that *internal communications* form the basis of verbal and written exchanges in most occupationnal groups within a firm. And that includes the communications within a unit of a firm and between this unit and the head office (Déom et Heurtebise, Etude E11, 1973 et Rapport, Tome I, 1973, pages 201-212).

Assuredly, there was variation from one occupational group to another. But, if you except "Sales management", "Purchasing Officers", "Telecommunication Technicians", "Customer Maintenance Technicians", "Salesmen", "Shipping and Delivery Employees", "Drivers", "Relations Officers", "Telephone Operators" and "Accounts Receivable Officers" — that means ten occupational groups — the thirty-seven others were to have 65% up of their exchanges in internal communications. The average percentage was:

— 75% of their exchanges in internal communications for the Senior Staff
— 71% " " " " " " " " " for the Engineers and Middle Staff
— 78% " " " " " " " " " for the Technicians and Junior Management
— 80% " " " " " " " " " for All Other Personnel.

And if you make a distinction in *internal communications* between those within an establishment (a unit of a firm) and those with the head office, the averages are the following:

— 60% of their exchanges in internal communication within a unit for Senior Staff
— 61% " " " " " " " " " within a unit for Engineers and Middle Management
— 71% " " " " " " " " " within a unit for Technicians and Junior Management
— 72% " " " " " " " " " within a unit for All Other Personnel.

It appeared clearly that the distinction between *outside* and *inside* communications found a basis on the ground:

1. of a partition of a firm — a large firm — in its units, and
2. of orientation of direction of the communications for each unit.

This distinction led to a definition of the *language of work*, which was conceived as *the language used in internal communications* for verbal or written exchanges with superiors, subordinates or colleagues, communications necessary for the operation of the organization.

To meet this goal, a distinction had to be made:

1. between the idea of language of work and that of proficiency in one or more languages for an individual;
2. between the idea of language of work for an individual and that of language of work for a firm or a unit of a firm;
3. between the language of work as the language of a unit for internal communication and the language of business, that is, the language used by an enterprise to communicate with its clients or suppliers, or to draw up contracts and agreements.

For an individual, the language of work is the one he uses at various moments of the day to carry out the duties connected with his position. He may need to know only one language, or, as for 10% to 15% of the personnel in many European enterprises, two or three languages, according to communication needs. In the first instance, the employee has only to be competent in one language; in the second, he must know more than one to fulfill his duties properly.

For an enterprise, the language of work is the one institutionalized for the operation of the organization.

Except for those who play a role in the administration of the organization, the language of work, on a daily basis, may not coincide for the individual and the enterprise, even if the institutionalized language of communication is the sole language of work for the great majority of the employees. Such was the case in Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark (Rapport, tome I, page 206).

Before answering this question, it must be noted that these conceptions of communication and language of work in a firm led to two other conceptions:

- first, that the business world has to be thought of as organizations formed with a head office and plants or units, able to function — for internal communications — as *autonomous organizations*, the head office being for that matter on a special ground;
- second, that the Quebec territory can be considered, for *internal business* communications, as an autonomous territory.

So, the francisation of internal communications led to the conception of the "*regionalisation*" of the business world in Quebec.

It must be noted, also, that to reach the goal of the francisation of internal communications in the Quebec business milieu, you had to find people able to use the French language fluently, either spoken or written. And these people were, for the most part, French-speaking Quebecers, waiting to go up in the hierarchy of the business organizations. In 1971, they represented only 30% of the population at the highest levels (more than 20,000$) of the big industrial, financial and commercial firms, 30% at the middle levels (from 15,000$ to 20,000$) and 55% at the lowest levels (less than 15,000$), including the foremen, This situation was the main source of the social mobility problem hidden behind the linguistic problem (Inagaki, E16, 1973 et Rapport, Tome I, pages 114 à 126).

The acceptability of the new communication system

But was this new communication system likely to function in North America? And was this new system acceptable to the English-speaking business leaders? As we have said before, the business communication system used as a model was that of small European countries, like the Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium (the Flemish part). In these countries, there was one institutionalized language as internal operation language for firms, and this was the *national* language, the Danish language in Denmark, the Dutch and Flemish languages in the Netherlands and the Flemish part of Belgium. But for business or external affairs, they used the language of the consumer or the supplier. Thus, the *language of work* for internal operations was the *national language*, while the language of trade could be an external language.

Then, the question was: what was the national language of Quebec?

From a historic point of view, there were two languages used currently in private, public and official affairs: French and English. From a legal point of view, French and English were the two languages possibly used in Parliament debates, laws and courts of justice. In that way, they were "official" languages. But there were no official languages as such, that were embedded in a special law.

From an ethnic point of view, French was the national language for French-speaking Quebecers, and English, for English-speaking Quebecers. In fact, there were two national languages: French and English.

But, you had to choose if you want to give a solid legal basis to the francisation of the internal communications (Rapport, tome II, Les droits linguistiques, pages 65 à 80). It ought to be one of the two languages. Because, *in North America*, French as a public and official means of communications had no existence at all. So, to the eyes of people interested (essentially, the businessmen), you had to give French a special visibility (Rapport, tome I, pages 151 à 155). Thus, it became necessary to declare one language prevailing over the other in certain circumstances (Rapport, tome II, pages 68 à 70). This had to be done in a special law declaring French as the official language in certain domains of social activity, specially in internal communications for all kinds of operations within a firm or, better, a unit of a firm.

Now, was the new system of communication acceptable to the English-speaking business and community leaders? At one time, in 1970, it was shown by a survey of executives that a program of francisation was possible if in accordance with three basic characteristics which emerged from the survey:

- first, the francisation of internal communications could be achieved only as a long term project, meaning that it would have to be spread over more than ten years;
- second, the success of a francisation program would depend on the use of persuasion instead of coercion;
- third, English ought to remain the language of business management at the national (it means "canadian") and international levels.

With respect to these conditions, there was in appearance few objections to the francisation of internal communications in the Quebec work milieu (De Brouwer, 1974). But, in fact, as one witnessed later, francisation was perceived as a threat over the dominant position occupied by English-speaking people in Canadian and foreign firms located in Quebec. These people were in a position of wait and see, and the period of ten years and more, quite reasonable in fact, was also a means so as to prepare important changes, including the moving of the head offices and the closing of plants in deficit, as it could happen later.

What was at stake, really, was a question of power: introducing on a large scale French language and French-speaking people could lead to a loss of the management power; we now understand better the close relation which exists in Quebec between the property (economic and legal) of an enterprise and the ethnic composition of its staff (chief manager and executives) (Voir A. Sales, La bourgeoisie industrielle au Québec, 1979). In this perspective, it was almost impossible for English-speaking executives to make room to French-speaking rivals, so as to finally give up the management power. But, at one time, all this was very vague.

So, it was answered "yes" to a reasonable program of francisation of internal communications. But, in fact, there was reluctance and the belief that all this was hardly possible, which led to a position of wait and see (Rapport, tome I, pages 141 à 149).

To summarize the steps leading to the whole conception, you had:

- first, the claim of the new French middle class leaders about the reinforcement of the position of the French language and French people in Quebec; and the opposition of the business leaders, mostly English-speaking, to any change of the status quo in the communication system of the Quebec business world, which was on the whole the North American system;
- second, the focusing on the problem of the language of work as the main linguistic problem and as the solution, in the long run, of the whole Quebec linguistic problem;

- third, the development of a whole conception which permits to reconcile, to a certain point, the necessity to reinforce the position of the French language and French people in the Quebec business milieu, without interfering too much with the necessity of using English as the principal means of communication in North America;
- hence, fourth, the distinction between *internal* and *external* communication, in business management and administration, distinction which permits to use French as well as English in large firms, owned by English-speaking people.

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THE IMPACT OF MINORITY ON LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE POLICY ON MINORITY IN QUEBEC

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While boundaries frequently exist between cultural realms as a political expression of the sovereignty and integrity of the respective sociopolitical systems, they seldom function as effective cultural limits to those realms. Rather, there is usually a frontier — a zone of transition — in which features of the respective cultures coexist on both sides of the boundary. Such a zone exists in this country and is situated between French and English Canada occupying portions of Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick (Figure 1). It is common that the cultural features of one realm will become dominant throughout the zone of transition so that members of the other feel that their administrative boundary has been perforated and a threat exists. Policies and programs will be developed to reestablish a "proper" balance within this cultural zone of transition; a balance that can range from exclusion to accommodation.

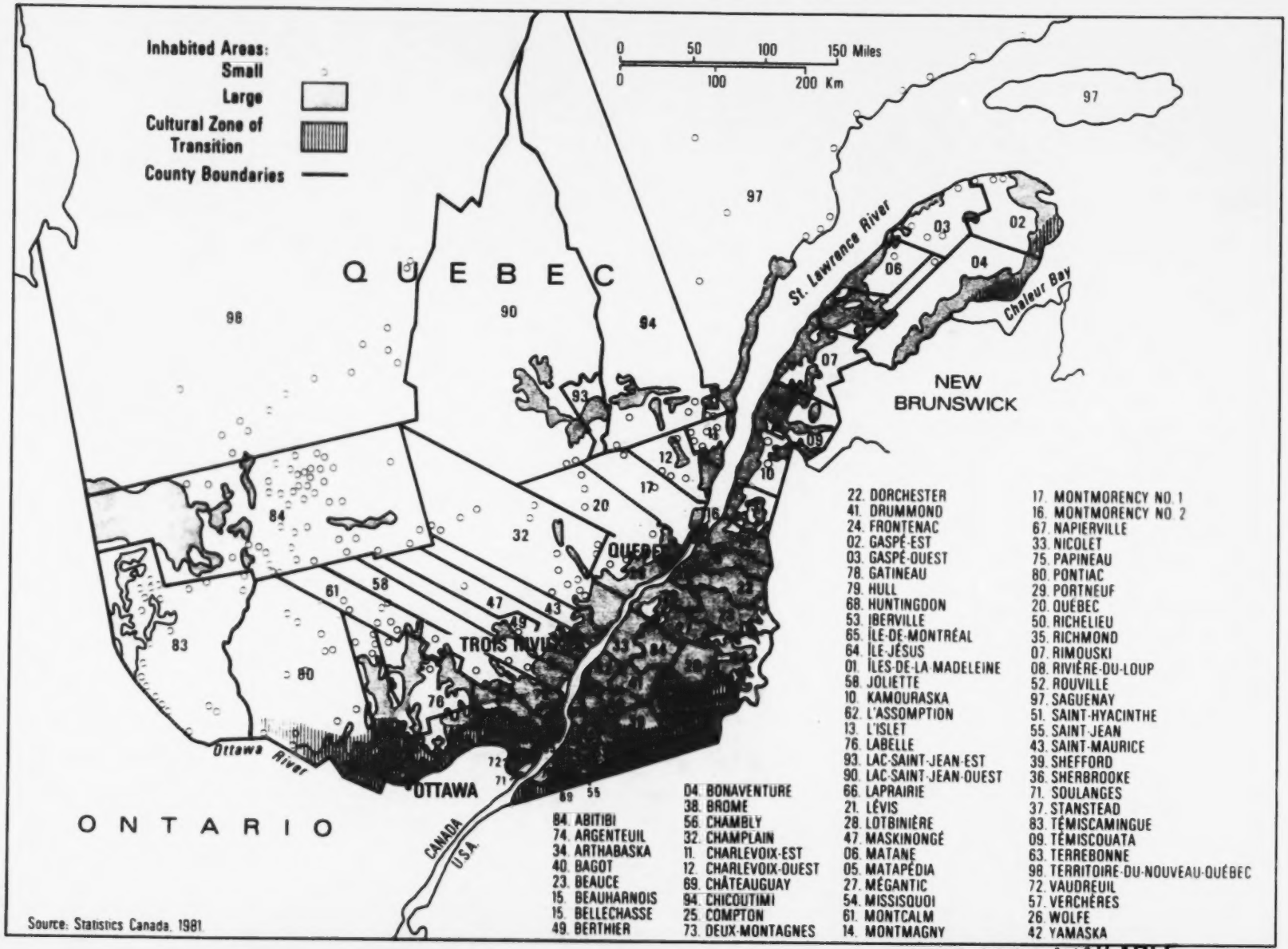
If the policy is designed toward accommodation among or between the constituent ethnic elements within the zone there must be reasonable assurance that integrative attributes and processes are present and operative thereby minimizing cultural cleavages. On the other hand, if the attributes and processes within the zone work toward a division between groups, the policy may extend to exclusion since such a characteristic of this peripheral area can be considered a centrifugal element that threatens the cultural security of the entire realm; particularly if one group is perceived as culturally aggressive. Boal and Douglas (1982) have developed the concept of integration/division as both attribute and process (the state of being integrated and the act of integrating respectively) within the context of Northern Ireland; a region they consider a zone of transition between two distinct cultural realms. Integrative and divisive processes are essentially behavioral and, therefore, may be depicted as opposite ends of a seesaw. The behavioral processes that are dominant will tip the entire system toward integration or division or, if in balance, toward a delicate state of equilibrium. It is through this concept and within a similar geographical context that the impact of minority upon policy and the resultant impact of policy upon minority will be presented as it applies to Quebec. To appreciate certain processes that have tipped the sociocultural balance toward integration or division within this portion of the transition zone it is essential at the outset to provide an overview of the evolution of areal relationships between francophone and anglophone in Quebec.

Evolution of the Zone of Transition Within Quebec

The British government established a post-Conquest settlement policy of anglo encirclement of the French-dominant St. Lawrence Lowlands. Although attempts were made to fulfil this scheme, by the middle of the nineteenth century the pattern began to disintegrate. Irish settlements along the edge of the Canadian Shield, between Trois-Rivieres and Montreal, were transitory (Clibbon 1964). Quebec City commenced the shift from a cosmopolitan to a relatively homogeneous, francophone population with the loss of industry and investment capital to Montreal (Trotier 1972). The counties south of the St. Lawrence River, between Quebec City and the Eastern Townships, could not sustain an anglophone growth as many successful farmers were attracted to the investment

FIGURE 1

The Cultural Zone of Transition in Quebec



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981

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opportunities in Ontario and the United States (Blanchard 1937). Those who remained were closest to the burgeoning heartland of Quebec and were either assimilated or remained as enclaves of resistant anglophones (Waddell 1982). It was the borderlands, territory peripheral to the provincial core area, that retained settlers of British and American origin. To appreciate the tenacity of the anglophones' perception of their place in Quebec society it is necessary to highlight the development of this settlement pattern within a cultural zone of transition.

The Margins of the Zone: Gaspésie and Abitibi/Témiscamingue

The margins of the cultural zone of transition are situated in Gaspésie and Abitibi/Témiscamingue. Attracted to the exploitation of primary resources, the anglophones who settled these areas in Quebec had a littoral distribution along the north shore of Chaleur Bay and an enclave concentration in the mining communities of Noranda and Rouyn. Both patterns contributed to the development of an inward-oriented society. Those of British and United Empire Loyalist descent in Gaspésie were able to look seaward for economic sustenance and to a neighbouring anglo community for cultural vitality. Little interaction seems to have developed over the decades with the dominant francophone population as the number of anglos was sufficient to maintain their religious, cultural and vocational institutions. Bernard (1925) described this area even before Confederation as one with "...une atmosphère anglaise, protestante, qui néglige l'élément français et acadien" (p. 206).

The mining centers in Abitibi/Témiscamingue are typical of development that has occurred throughout the resource frontier of the Canadian Shield. The urban linkages for these centers is normally outside the Shield rather than within reflecting the external control of their function. Rouyn is a good example of this for in 1928 the town was linked to the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway system, an Ontario-owned and Toronto-controlled network (Wallace 1982). Most of the anglophones of the region were part of this external orientation for 62% of the people of British origin in Témiscamingue lived in the three mining communities of Noranda, Rouyn and Témiscamingue in 1931. Compounding this outward alignment, the vagaries of the external markets to which one-industry towns are linked can manifest in high turnover ratios among the labour force and concomitant lack of identity with the host society and incentive to accommodate the dominant culture. As peripheral settlements they have a minority element that appears resistant to incorporation into the cultural web of Quebec (see below *passim*).

The Eastern Townships

East of the St. Lawrence Lowlands is an elevated and hilly region that is a part of the eroded Appalachian mountain system. This region is situated beyond the old seigneuries of the lowlands, and was surveyed according to the British system of townships after the change of administration in 1763. Settlement in these "Eastern Townships" by English-speaking colonists took place after the American War of Independance. Most were Loyalists from New England who chose to leave the new republic, hence their entry to Quebec was from the South — a cultural alignment that did not cease immediately the border was crossed. These settlers of American origin suited the British scheme of encouraging English-speaking farmers to take up land beyond the seigniories, consequently the British forms of landholding and pattern of settlement were introduced into this region at an early date.

By 1817 the townships had a population of approximately 20,000 most of whom had come from northern New England implanting on the landscape their preference for building styles and farm layout (Harris and Warkentin 1974). According to Blanchard (1937) these

settlers were successful because of the sense of solidarity and the spirit of the entrepreneur with which they were endowed. Indeed the anglo farmers achieved substantial prosperity in the Eastern Townships during the 1830s and 1840s. As roads to Montreal were improved in these decades, the focus of commercial agriculture tended towards livestock, mainly beef and sheep with a later shift to dairy cattle. Although urban growth in Quebec was relatively slow at this time, access to markets in Britain meant that the anglophone farmer was assured financial gain for his intense efforts. They became the most prosperous farmers in the province (Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly 1856). Hence, the major linkage for these rural anglophones was to other anglophones dominating the commercial sector of Montreal and to the market of Great Britain. Their major exposure to the francophone society of Quebec was local and one in which the francophone was expected, largely, to accommodate to the anglophone.

By 1860 British immigration into the area had halted and the proportion of this group to the total population was on the decline while the French element was burgeoning (Blanchard 1937). The 1861 census marked the peak in British population in this region at 56,000 with a French population of 12,000. From this date the francophone population continued to grow to a majority position. By 1901 the French Canadians in the Eastern Townships numbered 59,335 while the people of British origin were only 51,384. The patterns of language usage and of French-English interaction were established by this time (Philipponeau 1960). In rural locations it was seldom necessary for the French to use English. Those who entered the region as farmers or unskilled labourers were largely unilingual French and were able to remain so as long as the francophone population dominated numerically. Only in the cities and large towns, and within the southern tier of counties near the American border was it necessary to use English. For their part, English Canadians learned to speak French only if forced to do so for business reasons; otherwise few attempts were made to accommodate to the French on the level of communication (Ross 1950; Arnopoulos and Clift 1980).

Montreal and Vicinity

If the demographic theme in the Townships has been one of anglophone decline, that for the metropolitan area of Montreal has been one of attraction and growth. From the early days of the French regime, the city benefited from its geographical location at the junction of important canoe routes to the interior of the continent. With the development of the railway network in Canada in the middle of the nineteenth century, Montreal became a significant rail transportation centre thereby enhancing its function as a port city. Subsequently, urban growth was sustained partly because of trade connections established and maintained outside the province and partly because of the availability of investment capital from English entrepreneurs. The injection of money and people contributed to an urban pattern that has been described by Harris and Warkentin (1974) as functionally and ethnically segregated.

In the 1840s the central business district of Montreal was dominated by English-speaking citizens, apparently reflecting the concentration of commercial power. The English-French pattern in Montreal was established early. To the northwest, wealthy English entrepreneurs built their houses close to the present location of McGill University and on the sides of Mount Royal overlooking the burgeoning city. From this core the city grew to the northeast and became the domain of the francophone. To the southwest the people of English mother tongue expanded and established neighbourhoods with their own set of institutions. The overflow population, mainly francophone, eventually settled on Ile-Jesus and across the St. Lawrence into neighbouring counties (see Figure 2). Throughout this development, social and ethnic separation was retained among the residential quarters (Biays 1970).

It was about the time of Confederation that the ethnic composition of Montreal began to alter. In the late 1820s, the city's population was almost 60 per cent British, but by 1871 French Canadians constituted 53 per cent of the total. Although the English-speaking population grew in absolute terms, many more French Canadians were moving into the city from the crowded rural parishes; the British percentage of the total population fell gradually from 40 to 30 per cent by the turn of the century. The consequence of commercial and industrial development of Montreal was the evolution of a distinctly French-Canadian city. This trend has continued; so that in 1981 the people of English mother tongue constituted only 18 per cent of the metropolitan population. Conversely the absolute numbers of anglophones in Montreal and environs, relative to other areas, has grown steadily. In 1961, 71 per cent of the English, mother-tongue population of Quebec lived in the greater Montreal area. This increased to 75 per cent in 1971 and to 76 per cent in 1976. According to the census of 1981 it had dropped only slightly to 74 per cent. This "critical mass" and their entrenchment in "west" Montreal means that the anglophones have been successful in sustaining their institutions — religious, educational, sociocultural, economic and professional. For many who lived and worked in the anglophone neighbourhoods of the city these institutions facilitated a range of contact and interaction that could be conducted entirely in English. Proximity to the United States and to English Canada also ensured a variety of information and entertainment sources in English.

The Ottawa Valley

That portion of the cultural zone of transition of Quebec that is situated west of Montreal lies largely within the Ottawa Valley. The patterns of settlement and ethnic contact that developed here are associated mainly with the processes of forest exploitation and Catholic colonization. In contrast to the St. Lawrence Valley, the timber industry preceded settlement and agriculture into the middle Ottawa Valley. The region became a significant source for timber to the British market in the early decades of the nineteenth century and those settlers who entered the valley between 1810 and 1840 selected land close to the timber operations; agricultural activity could then be conducted in concert with seasonal employment in the forest. Again in contrast to the St. Lawrence Valley, it was the British settler who preceded the French Canadians throughout most of the north shore of the Ottawa. From 1819 to 1825 almost 70,000 Irishmen emigrated to Canada. Many located in and around Quebec City and Montreal (Davin 1969). Others, attracted by employment in the construction of the Rideau Canal, navigation improvements on the Ottawa River and seasonal labour demands in the timber shanties, entered the Ottawa Valley in such numbers that by 1830 they were the dominant ethnic group in the middle Ottawa Valley region. By 1851 the north shore of the Valley east and west of Hull had earned the title "Little Ireland" (Blanchard 1949, Cross 1968).

From the middle of the nineteenth century timber operations in the valley expanded and more French Canadians entered the region attracted first by opportunities to work in the bush but later, in response to urgings by the Oblate Fathers, to farm close to the shanties. Irish and Scot workers, once they had a stake, also left the bush to farm but those who chose to stay in the valley located on farms closer to the main river and to Ottawa/Hull (Tassé 1873). This pattern of distinct farming areas was encouraged by Bishop Guigues (Bytown/Ottawa) who recognized that some spatial organization was essential to maximize intra-ethnic cooperation and to minimize inter-ethnic conflict. Guigues decided to encourage French-Canadian settlers into tributary valleys within the Quebec portion of his diocese beyond the remaining Irish settlements. Other Irish Catholics who entered the diocese were encouraged to continue westward into the territory between the Ottawa River and Lake Huron; a region that was already attracting British settlers because of expanding timber operations (Guigues Papers).

By 1871 the colonization movement in the Quebec Laurentide had attained a relatively powerful thrust and francophone farms spread from the more fertile "bottom" lands of the valleys onto the upper levels of the Shield producing a relatively contiguous settlement. According to Paget (1960) the primary aim of this form of colonization was social rather than economic and was directed to create nucleated, socio-religious and self-sufficient communities similar to those that already dominated the settlement pattern of the province. These Laurentide settlements were self-reliant and based upon the symbiotic farming/timber operations. Consequently, there was little need or opportunity for contact and interaction with the Irish settlers "down river". The dominant processes associated with ethnic settlement in the Valley during the nineteenth century, therefore, contributed more toward division between the two groups in this western portion of the transition zone. Many anglophones considered their involvement in the timber industry of the Laurentide as a sojourn rather than permanent. It would be quixotic to anticipate that a cultural/linguistic accommodation between ethnic groups would have developed in this type of frontier environment.

Twentieth-Century Trends East and West of Montreal

If the nineteenth century was the period of intensification of settlement in the heartland of Quebec and expansion onto marginal lands, as occurred in the Laurentides, the twentieth century has been dominated by a decline in these peripheral rural settlements. Many farmers in the Laurentide have not been able to accommodate their relatively small holdings to the trend toward intensification of agricultural activity and concentration into more lucrative capital-intensive operations. Lumbering activity in the Shield was gradually superseded by the pulp and paper industry, consequently operations became year-round rather than seasonal. Mechanization in the industry reduced the demand for seasonal, semi-skilled workers substantially and, as a result, farmers operating on marginal land lost an alternative source of income. There has been a progressive thinning of the farm population in the headward portions of the Laurentide Valleys as people leave the land for employment opportunities in the cities and towns (Hamelin 1955; Trotier 1972).

Abandonment of farming must not be interpreted as an exodus from the land, however, for research into these processes has revealed that many rural occupants of tributary valleys must now be classified as "rural, non-farm" in that they earn most of their income from a source other than farming (Parson 1977). It was Parson who found that this pattern was more prevalent among French-speaking occupants of the valley. This indicates a probable change in journey-to-work patterns and consequent exposure to an English-language milieu, depending upon the location of the place of work. At the time that agriculture/timbering dominated tributary-valley settlement (an association that became more prevalent among French settlers than among English), French Canadians were relatively isolated, and exposure to an English-language milieu was minimal. This pattern appears to be waning as many French Canadians in the area must earn the bulk of their income away from the farm. Some may encounter an English-language milieu during working hours but escape to a French-language community afterwards. This, in part, can explain the tendency in the zone for the francophone to accommodate to the English language while the anglophone, in general, has remained unilingual. If one considers himself/herself as part of English Canada and/or English-dominant North America and descended from the "original" settlers of the region, it is not considered out of alignment to expect others to accommodate your cultural traits, particularly that of language. As long as contact occurs during working hours with subsequent separation to respective residential areas, integrative processes particularly through the conduit of shared institutions have few opportunities to develop.

Another transitory contact process in the zone east and west of Montreal is associated with changing urban influences from the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Valleys. Urbanites purchase abandoned or forested land in the Laurentide and in L'Estrie to construct cottage accommodation that can be used year round. Regional planning authorities promote the development of organized tourist facilities — campgrounds, golf courses, ski areas — to provide tertiary employment for the local population. This thrust has been characteristic since the 1950s and may also explain linguistic patterns that have evolved in these portions of the transition zone.

The evolution of anglophone settlements in the cultural zone of transition did not conform to British policy of heartland encirclement. Because it became largely peripheral to the cultural core of Quebec it may be argued that interactions and orientations were more external to Quebec rather than to the heartland of the province or among other anglo-Quebec settlements. Internally the local anglophone society was institutionally structured to be largely self-sufficient thereby minimizing the necessity or perhaps the desire to develop a pattern of interaction with the "host" society. For example, French as a subject in English-language schools in nineteenth-century Quebec was optional (Magnuson 1980). Post World War II integration of school boards required bussing of children to regional English-language schools thereby minimizing the possibilities for local contact and interaction with francophone youth (Caldwell 1982b). Nor did religious affiliations foster integration between the anglophone/francophone elements of society for congregations were divided by language as well as sect (Waddell 1982, Mair 1982). When one juxtaposes the internal structures of the various groups that constitute the anglophones of Quebec with the processes and patterns of geographical settlement within the cultural zone of transition, it is possible to understand why the anglo-Quebecers saw themselves as a salient of the English-Canadian majority and only secondarily (if at all), and belatedly as a minority within Quebec (Caldwell and Waddell 1982).

Measurement of Anglophone/Francophone Divisiveness

The general cleavage that has dominated the anglophone/francophone societies of the zone of transition has a spatial expression in separate urban and rural residential patterns, educational and religious centers and business and professional associations. A measure of this divisiveness and the concomitant physical and cognitive distance between the two ethnic groups can be provided through the index of language intensity; an application that is considered germane since language behavior and social behavior accord in many ways (Fishman 1968, Hertzler 1965).

The conceptual basis for the index of language intensity has been presented previously (Cartwright 1981). In general it was developed to determine the vigour and extent of language usage by an ethnic group relative to the size and pattern of distribution of that group by contrasting person-related data (language(s) in which one is able to communicate) to the census population of home language. This provides a ratio between a census population that is unilingual and the census population that uses the same language in the home;[1] resultant tabulations will range from unity (1.00) to zero. The assumption is made that as the index approaches unity for one of the linguistic groups it becomes a reliable indicator that members are not required to learn the second official language to obtain community services or to socialize outside the home. Conversely, when a low measure is derived on the language intensity index the implication is that beyond the home people must use the other official language at work, for entertainment, community services and, significantly, to converse with other people in the community. Calculations that incorporate the two census populations of mother-tongue and home-language can provide a measure of language shift or language maintenance but will not indicate what language people tend to use in daily patterns of contact and interaction in their community *outside* the home.

Furthermore, that portion of the population who responded "both" to the official-language question cannot be used in these calculations because of editing procedures used by Statistics Canada (Cartwright 1980).

From the calculations for 1971 (Table 1) one gets the impression that the strength and pervasiveness of the English language was, in general, out of balance with the proportion of the population of English mother tongue to total throughout the transition zone. In some counties within the zone, where the people of English mother tongue constituted less than half the population, the language intensity index for English was greater than that for French. This situation was prevalent in the greater Montreal area and undoubtedly reflects the settlement patterns that evolved within the city. Interaction seems to occur mainly in the central business district and this is illustrated in Figure 2 where the index has been applied to census subdivisions within the Island of Montreal (Ile-de-Montréal). What is particularly surprising in this figure is the pervasiveness of the English language in "East" Montreal where the proportion of the English mother-tongue population to total is relatively small.

Among the conclusions that can be drawn from these tabulations and from Figure 2 it must be assumed that within some census areas francophones and anglophones have continued to live in residential situations where there has been little or no interaction and a resultant need or desire to learn the other official language. In other areas it has been the francophone who learned the second official language; a pattern that is well known in French Canada. The latter is a situation that Vallee and Dufour (1974) have referred to as "unbalanced bilingualism" and which they found to be extensive within the zone of transition that is situated *outside* Quebec. The divisional attributes of the social milieu throughout the zone seem to have diminished only slightly since the turn of the century.

The strength and pervasiveness of English throughout the transition zone was a concern to the provincial legislators (Gendron Commission 1972). With the migration of people from peripheral regions in the province into urban centres in the St. Lawrence Lowlands particularly to greater Montreal, a process that has been prevalent since the early sixties (Trotier 1972), exposure to this second language was increasing. This must have been perceived by members of the provincial government as an acceleration in cultural erosion. In this context policies and programs that were developed in Quebec City, culminating with the Official Language Charter in 1977, are comprehensible.

A Geopolitical Response

Efforts within Quebec since Confederation to preserve the French Canadian culture have served as a model or provided encouragement to minorities elsewhere, particularly those efforts directed toward language maintenance (Veltman 1980, Glazer and Moynihan 1975). In 1961 the provincial government provided a new thrust when they created a Ministry of Cultural Affairs. This ministry brought forth several policies and programs to sustain and enrich francophone culture. Support extended from book publishing through theatrical and television production, the development of Radio Quebec to direct financial assistance for regional newspapers and magazines (Finbow 1983). The culmination of these efforts occurred in the mid 1970s when an Official Language Act was promulgated in 1972 and an Official Language Charter in 1976. Through these laws the government of Quebec made it clear that if minority groups, including anglophones, were to be "full fledged Quebecers" they would accept their responsibility to develop Quebec culture and to enrich the official language of the province.

Statements made by the Minister for Cultural Affairs when Bill 101 was before the National Assembly were symptomatic of the fear of cultural erosion that many Quebecers experienced (Laurin 1977). At the time, birth rates in Quebec had declined from the highest to the lowest in Canada, fertility rates were below the national average and gross

TABLE 1

Mother-Tongue Populations and Index of Language Intensity, French and English, for Counties Within the Transition Zone of Quebec, 1971

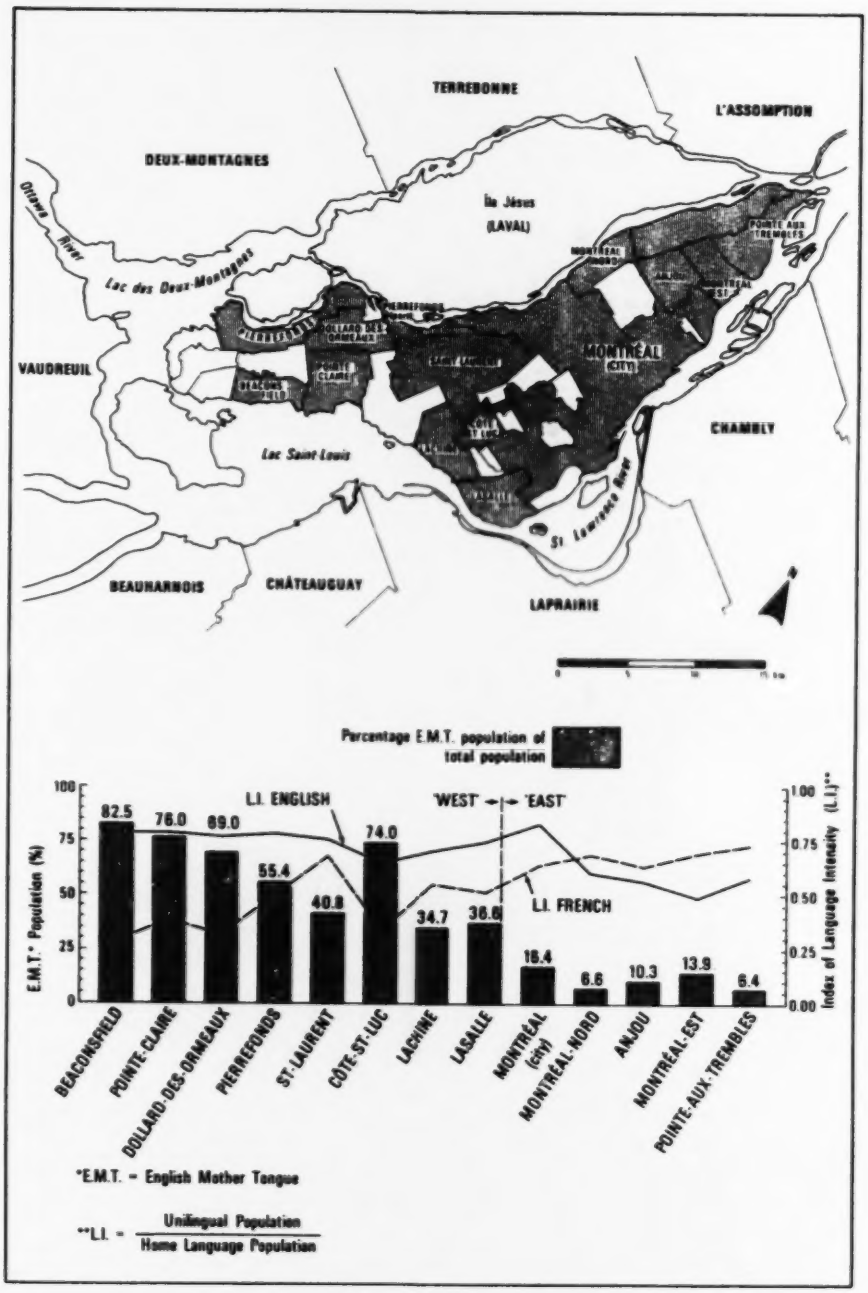
Census Divisions Within Transition Zone	F.M.T. Population	% of Total Population	L.I. Index	E.M.T. Population	% of Total Population	L.I. Index
Gaspésie						
Gaspé Est	35,470	85.0	.85	6,150	14.7	.68
Bonaventure	34,505	82.7	.82	6,135	14.7	.81
Eastern Townships						
Compton	17,060	79.8	.78	4,215	19.7	.71
Richmond	36,080	87.9	.80	4,770	11.6	.51
Sherbrooke	89,165	87.9	.68	11,130	11.0	.56
Stanstead	28,120	77.5	.72	7,935	21.9	.68
Brome	7,095	46.3	.60	7,690	50.2	.75
Missisquoi	26,530	78.1	.68	6,635	19.5	.64
Greater Montreal						
Chateauguay	33,970	63.2	.65	17,875	33.3	.72
Huntingdon	8,155	53.1	.56	6,055	39.4	.77
Ile de Montréal / Ile Jésus	1,382,320	63.2	.63	494,950	22.6	.76
Laprairie	47,295	76.7	.68	10,245	16.6	.77
Vaudreuil	26,010	71.1	.65	9,635	26.3	.69
Chambly	179,970	77.7	.65	43,745	18.9	.66
Ottawa Valley						
Deux Montagnes	43,630	83.3	.75	7,640	14.6	.65
Argenteuil	22,025	70.3	.63	8,870	28.3	.68
Papineau	27,710	87.2	.71	3,880	12.2	.56
Gatineau	38,620	69.3	.58	15,795	28.3	.69
Hull	97,825	89.0	.51	10,005	9.1	.53
Pontiac	7,895	40.3	.40	11,145	56.9	.83
West Quebec						
Témiscamingue	48,185	88.2	.74	5,015	9.2	.65
Abitibi	101,525	90.4	.89	4,845	4.3	.85

F.M.T. = French mother-tongue population
E.M.T. = English mother-tongue population
L.I. Index = Index of Language Intensity

Source: Census of Canada, Population, Catalogues 92-726 and 92-773.

FIGURE 2

**Index of Language Intensity, French and English,
with Percentage E.M.T. Population
by Selected Census Subdivisions, Ile-de-Montreal, Quebec, 1971**



reproduction rates had fallen below replacement (Henripin 1977). Most in-migrants to the province settled in greater Montreal and, in general, selected English not French as their second language. Also, as noted above, the ecumene of Quebec was contracting toward the original core area of the St. Lawrence Valley particularly into Montreal and adjacent urban centres (Charbonneau and Mahew 1973). It is conceivable that the provincial government believed that the transition zone was encroaching upon the heartland of Quebec. Consequently, it was forecast that the provincial population would diminish in proportion to that of the whole of Canada, therefore "...the proportion of French-speaking in the province and in Montreal will diminish" (Laurin 1977, p. 9). On the basis of these perceptions of the demographic and geographical trends within Quebec, the government incorporated stringent regulations for the language of education and work into the Official Language Charter.

Responses of the Minority to Policy

What impact has this cultural entrenchment had upon the anglophones within the transition zone of Quebec? Although this writer considers provincial language policy to be the significant influence upon recent minority behavior, no direct cause and effect can be stated absolutely because a decision to leave the province or to "join" the sociocultural fabric of Quebec can be based upon several reasons. In addition to the social upheaval caused by language legislation, the economic climate of the province has not been conducive to retain workers or attract investment capital. Since the deep recession of 1981-82, unemployment in Quebec has been about 14 per cent, this is above the national average of approximately 10 per cent. Some labor laws have been passed that have annoyed the business community. For example, on September 1, 1983 the National Assembly passed Bill 17, an amendment to the Quebec Labor Code, that prohibits companies using non-union or management personnel to substitute for unionized workers on strike or lockout. There have been threats by some companies that they will move their operations out of Quebec because the Act upsets the balance of labour negotiations and can limit ability to make four to five-year production plans. Add to this the high personal income tax that is levied in Quebec and any combination of circumstances can produce a change in the distribution and composition of the population in the transition zone; and a significant change has taken place.

According to recent mother-tongue census figures the anglophone population of Quebec decreased by 11 per cent between 1971 and 1981 compared with a 9 per cent increase in the francophone population and a 7 per cent increase in the total population. In a recent report prepared for the Secretary of State Department in Ottawa, however, it was revealed that inter-provincial migration between 1976 and 1982 for anglophones has been much higher (de Vries 1983). According to this study, using data gathered by Secretary of State, almost 20 per cent of the 1976-based anglophone population moved from Quebec in this period and of these only about one-sixth returned to the province. This leaves a net decline of about 14 per cent between 1976 and 1982. The net figure for those of "other" mother tongue (allophones) was about -5.0 per cent.

The calculations listed in Table 2 reflect this change and are based upon mother-tongue data from the 1971 and 1981 censuses. The data for individual census divisions have been aggregated by regions within the zone of transition because of the extensive changes to the boundaries of census subdivisions and census divisions that occurred within Quebec between 1971 and 1976. By grouping the counties within the transition zone distortions have been minimized. The changes in mother-tongue population for each region is, therefore, an approximation but considered fairly accurate for the zone in total.

Throughout the zone of transition the out-migration exceeds only slightly the average for the province. This is to be expected since 90 per cent of the anglophones in the province

TABLE 2

Changes in Mother-Tongue Populations, French, English and Totals, by Regions Within the Transition Zone of Quebec, 1971 to 1981

Regions[1]	French Mother-Tongue			English Mother-Tongue			Total Population		
	1971	1981	% change	1971	1981	% change	1971	1981	% change
Gaspésie	69,875	69,980	0.01	12,285	10,770	-12.3	83,430	81,960	- 1.8
Eastern Townships	204,050	225,485	10.5	42,375	39,870	- 6.0	249,405	269,152	7.9
Greater Montreal	1,677,720	1,691,835	0.08	582,505	510,235	-12.4	2,586,135	2,558,133	- 1.1
Ottawa Valley	237,705	271,495	14.2	57,335	57,765	0.07	300,725	347,706	15.6
West Quebec	147,710	136,105	- 7.8	9,860	6,320	-36.0	166,905	146,099	-12.5
TOTALS	2,337,060	2,394,900	2.5	704,360	624,960	-11.3	3,219,695	3,403,050	5.7

[1] See Table 1.

Source: Census of Canada, Population, Catalogues 92-773 (1971) and Population Catalogue "Quebec", 1981.

live within this zone. The only portion of the zone in which a slight increase was recorded was the area to the west of Montreal, the strongest growth area in the zone, and for the anglophones this occurred in only two counties, Papineau and Gatineau where significant boundary changes have taken place. These counties are also within commuting distance of Ottawa and many anglophones work in this city but take advantage of lower land and house prices in Quebec. Greater Montreal experienced the heaviest loss of anglophones in terms of absolute numbers but with a base population over half a million and concentration in "west" Montreal these people can still support a variety of institutions that help to sustain a minority. Outside the metropolitan area, the anglophones are more dispersed and decline is a threat to the survival of local English-language institutions. With the exception of counties west of Montreal (i.e., those within the journey-to-work realm of Ottawa-Hull) anglophone settlements within the transition zone are contracting geographically and declining numerically. It remains to determine whether for those who remain the process of division or integration is dominant. To do this a special tabulation was obtained from Statistics Canada.

To assess a shift in language usage between the two dominant ethnic groups from 1971 to 1981, and a potential alteration in the pattern of contact and interaction, several variables were incorporated into the tabulation. For the two census years data were assembled for each by mother tongue by home language by official languages by sex and for specified age cohorts. These were run at the scale of the census subdivision with data then aggregated for the census division. To facilitate comparison, Statistics Canada was requested to make the 1971 data compatible with 1981 census boundaries thereby overcoming changes in the limits of geostatistical units between the two censuses. This is a very costly process; therefore, it was done only for those units considered to be within the cultural zone of transition.

The selected age cohorts did not include those below the age of five years for the range of interaction for these preschool children is normally limited to the home. Furthermore, Statistics Canada classifies their ability with the official languages according to the declared home language of the parents. Beyond this age children begin to attend school and their range of interactions alters accordingly. The data given in Table 3 provide the change in the index of language intensity for both mother-tongue populations from 1971 to 1981 by census division. The values for 1971 in this table will not concur with those given in Table 1 for two reasons. These data accord with census divisions for 1981 and secondly, since the focus of this paper is upon the anglophones in Quebec all allophones were excluded from the tabulations. There are many, particularly in greater Montreal, whose mother tongue will be "other" than French or English but who now use one or the other language most often in the home and who are competent to speak only one. This group would have skewed the results somewhat (especially so in Montreal) if they had been incorporated into these tabulations. It was neither possible nor considered necessary, however, to exclude them for the calculations required in Table 1.

Two features of the respective populations that are apparent from these data are the reduction in the ability of the anglophones to function entirely in their mother tongue beyond the home, and a much smaller shift in the index for the francophones. The latter suggests a reduction in the necessity to learn the second official language. The exceptions in the magnitude of this trend for the anglophones occurred in Gaspésie and in Pontiac County near the Ottawa/Hull conurbation. The decline in the index has not been particularly large in either.

Since there has been a marked shift for the anglophones one may assume that they now accommodate to the language of the majority. It must be stated, however, that it is probable that the majority of the anglophones who departed the province were the unilinguals thereby leaving behind many who were bilingual. As a consequence the index

TABLE 3

Index of Language Intensity for Census Division Within the Transition Zone of Quebec, 1971 and 1981

Census Divisions	French 1971	French 1981	English 1971	English 1981
Gaspésie				
Gaspé Est	.84	.79	.68	.61
Bonaventure	.81	.79	.73	.70
Eastern Townships				
Compton	.77	.74	.72	.60
Richmond	.79	.78	.52	.41
Sherbrooke	.66	.65	.59	.47
Stanstead	.71	.67	.71	.61
Brome	.58	.57	.77	.59
Missisquoi	.66	.62	.65	.49
Greater Montreal				
Chateauguay	.63	.56	.73	.56
Huntingdon	.55	.50	.76	.66
Ile de Montréal and Ile Jésus	.58	.54	.66	.48
Laprairie	.65	.58	.68	.43
Vaudreuil	.64	.53	.70	.48
Chambly	.63	.59	.66	.46
Ottawa Valley				
Deux Montagnes	.73	.67	.67	.45
Argenteuil	.62	.59	.70	.57
Papineau	.69	.61	.61	.52
Gatineau	.58	.46	.74	.60
Hull	.47	.40	.64	.41
Pontiac	.33	.25	.86	.81
West Quebec				
Témiscamingue	.72	.71	.62	.43
Abitibi	.84	.82	.65	.28

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation.

would change without a marked and significant change in the patterns of contact and interaction within the transition zone. To obtain some indication of the latter, the language intensity index was plotted for specific age cohorts for each mother-tongue population for 1971 and 1981. The resultant graphs provide a useful image of the shifts that have occurred between the two census periods (Figure 3). The census divisions that constitute Gaspésie and West Quebec were aggregated to produce those profiles. Similarly Ile de Montréal and Ile Jésus are linked as representative of greater Montreal. The six counties listed in Table 1 as the Eastern Townships and those west of Montreal in the Ottawa Valley have been aggregated in Figure 3.

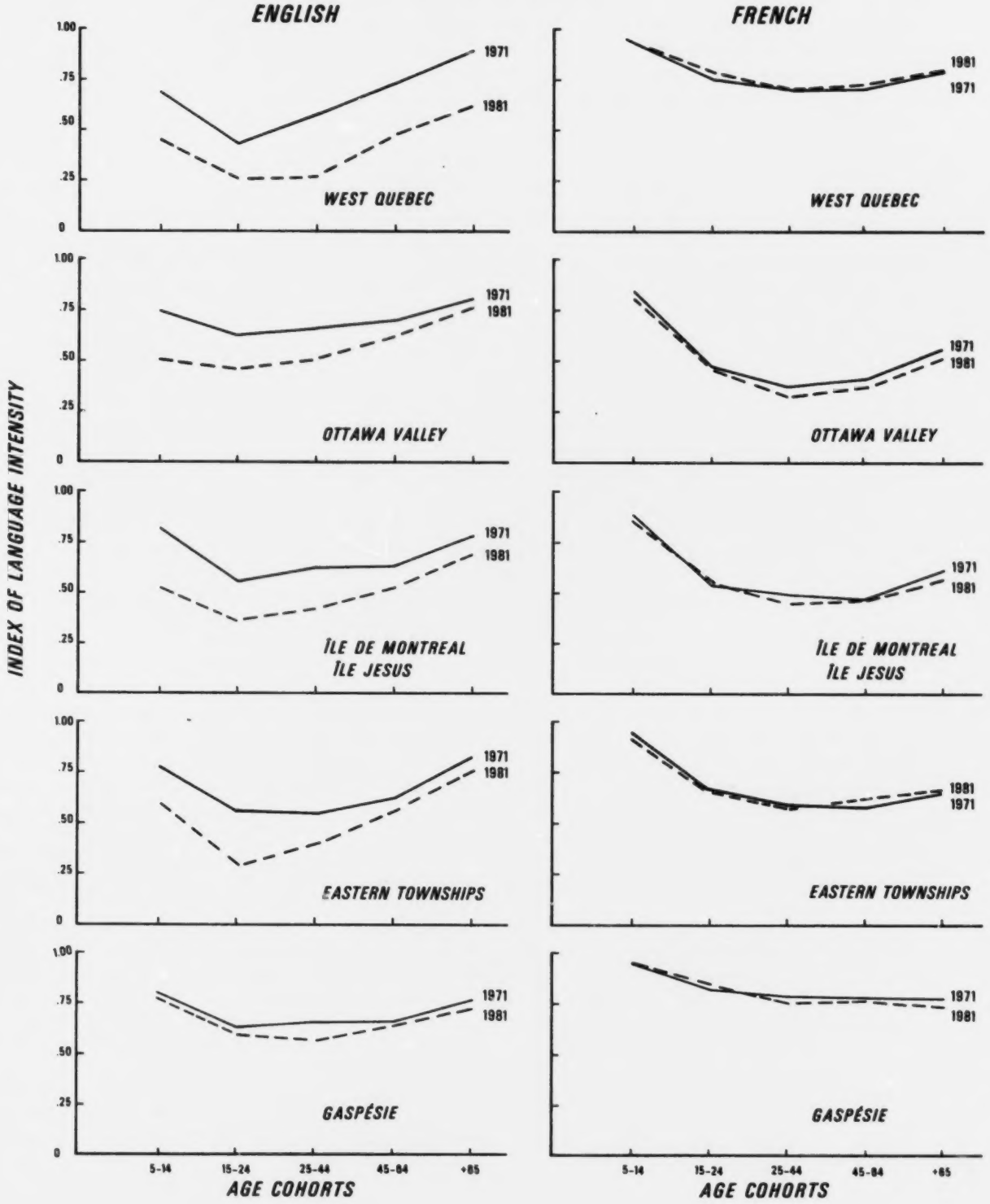
In West Quebec the profile indicates that the largest shift has occurred in middle and older age cohorts. The local economy still relies heavily upon primary production in mining and farming. Given its peripheral location it was particularly disadvantaged during the recent recession. Unilingual anglos would have most difficulty in finding employment within Quebec so it is not surprising that the drop in register on the index has occurred here. In the Ottawa Valley, greater Montreal and the Eastern Townships the largest shift in the language intensity index has been for the youngest cohorts encompassing people from 5 to 44 years of age. There are several processes that may account for this. It is probable that the younger members of the labor force are the most mobile taking with them their young children as they join the out-migration of anglos to other provinces. Older people in this part of the province are more entrenched in both vocation and social contacts. There is also an attitude of accommodation among the young in Quebec to the French language: given the climate created by the Charter the second language is mandatory for career development. Finally, in research on the anglophone population outside of Montreal, Caldwell (1980) discovered the phenomenon of mother-tongue transfer among the young allophones of Quebec. Formerly registered as "other" mother tongue they have declared for English on the 1981 census. This linguistic mobility among the young, other mother-tongue population should not be surprising given the existence of language legislation in Quebec. If these "transfers" have a facility in both official languages, the index for the young age cohorts will reflect this.

With the exception of the Ottawa Valley region, the francophones have, in general, maintained their position on the profile of the language intensity index. This must be encouraging for those who developed the Official Language Charter. It does seem that the language of society in this part of the transition zone is strengthening in favor of French. The shift among the francophones in the Ottawa Valley region probably reflects daily or regular access to Ottawa. For employment and/or shopping, use of the second official language may be accepted as being desirable or necessary. In the other regions employment and shopping will be interregional or intraregional and the second language is no longer mandatory. In Gaspésie the "two solitudes" phenomenon prevails with the only encouraging adjustment toward interaction occurring among the anglophones in the 5 to 14 age cohort. If we exclude Gaspésie the most encouraging aspect of change in ethnic interaction that can be derived from the profiles is the increased potential in the 5 to 14 and 15 to 24 age cohorts among the anglophone population. Whether this represents a residual population after a fairly large out-migration plus the phenomenon of mother-tongue shift among allophones, the potential for greater participation in Quebec society resides with these younger people.

Census data and associated tabulations can provide only indications of trends toward integration/division within a plural society. Changes in definitions for census populations, in sample sizes and variations in editing procedures from one census to the next continue to frustrate social scientists who wish to measure the processes and patterns of contact and interaction of constituent ethnic groups. Consequently, once trends have been identified, as with the application of the index of language intensity, it is desirable to seek corroborative evidence through field research. To this end research has been conducted among the minority populations within the zone of transition.

FIGURE 3

Index of Language Intensity by Age Cohorts for French and English for Specified Regions Within the Cultural Zone of Transition, Quebec, 1971 and 1981



Field Research Within the Cultural Zone of Transition

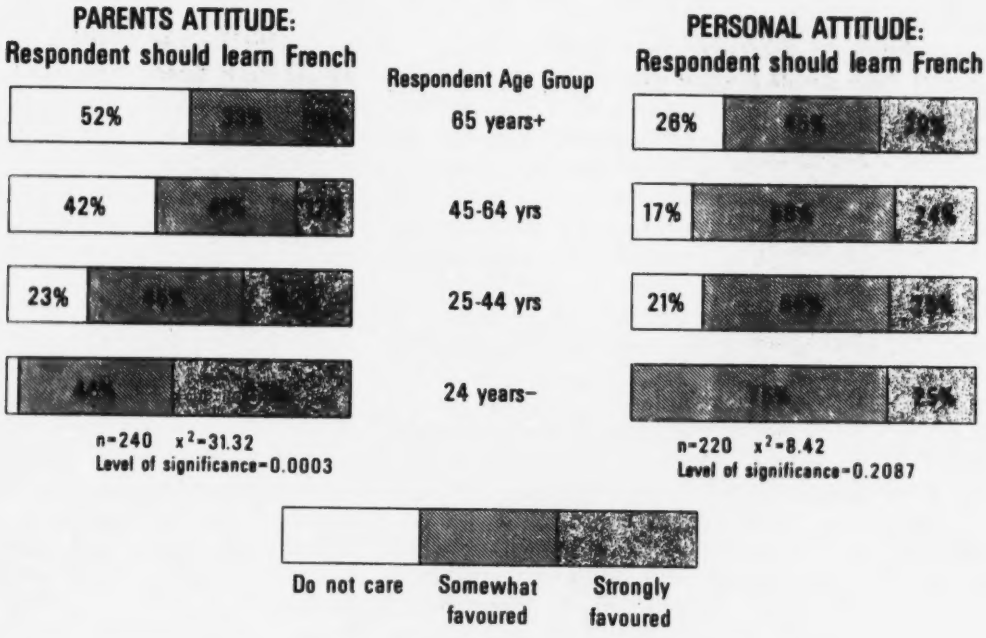
At the time of writing only preliminary analysis of information obtained through questionnaires has been completed but this is considered significant to the trends identified above.[2] The questionnaires, one applied to people over fourteen years of age not attending school and another applied to those above that age but attending school, were designed to assess current and early usage in specified language domains within and beyond the home.[3] We are also attempting to determine attitudes towards language acquisition, as well as ability to speak the second official language, and opinions on the adequacy of neighbourhood services in the mother tongue. Douglas (1983) has suggested that political integration and division are best identified by the study of attitudes. Responses have been selected from the survey conducted among anglophones in Lennoxville, Quebec (Sherbrooke County); an urban center of 4,000 people of whom the English, mother-tongue population constitutes 67 per cent. The sample size represents about 9 per cent of this population and is considered an adequate representation of trends within this portion of the cultural zone of transition because of its geographical location within the Eastern Townships and because of the strong proportion of anglophones to total urban population. The respondents have been grouped into four cohorts to conform to those illustrated in the profiles of the index of language intensity. It is recognized that the three-phase groupings suggested by Stein (1982) are reasonable but those illustrated in this paper were selected to isolate groups entering the labour force, the youthful mobile element of the labour force, the entrenched and the retired.

Early results among the attitudinal and usage responses have been tested through Chi-square analysis and are illustrated in Figures 4 and 5. The attitudes among the parents of respondents toward the necessity to learn French has shifted over time in a positive manner (Figure 4). More than half of the parents of respondents 24 years old and under were strongly in favour compared to only 15 per cent for the oldest cohort. While the personal attitude of the respondent to this question does not measure well on the level of significance of Chi-square it may be suggested that if the age groupings recommended by Stein's three-phase hypothesis had been applicable to the sample a level of significance would have been attained. In spite of this significant trends are obvious. No respondent in the youngest cohort "did not care" whether or not they learned French whereas this attitude was present among the older respondents. A much larger percentage of the former were favourably disposed to learning French than among the latter. Interestingly, 61 per cent of all anglophone respondents believed that services in their area in English were sufficient. These included personal, professional and governmental (federal, provincial and municipal) services (Figure 4). It should be noted that this may also reflect the size and duration of the anglo-Quebec population in this part of the Townships. Comparisons with other communities must be made before one can draw a meaningful conclusion on this question.

A similar trend is revealed in current language usage among the anglophone respondents in Lennoxville. The younger cohorts have more ability to speak French and use it more frequently at work and among their friends than do the older anglophones (Figure 5). These initial results from the field research, therefore, accord with the tabulations on the index of language intensity. Among the younger members of the anglophones who have remained in Lennoxville the capabilities for and attitudes toward greater participation within Quebec society and interaction with francophones have increased and improved. As a note of caution, however, along with the preliminary nature of the analysis, one must not lose sight of the dilemma aptly raised by Caldwell and Waddell (1982). "While the acquisition of French language skills ensures an ability to function more adequately in Quebec, it does not necessarily lead to creative participation and implication in the larger society" (p. 105). Indeed, Locher (1983) in his research into linguistic attitudes among the

FIGURE 4

Attitudes Among English Mother-Tongue Population, Lennoxville, Quebec, Toward Learning French and Availability of Services in English



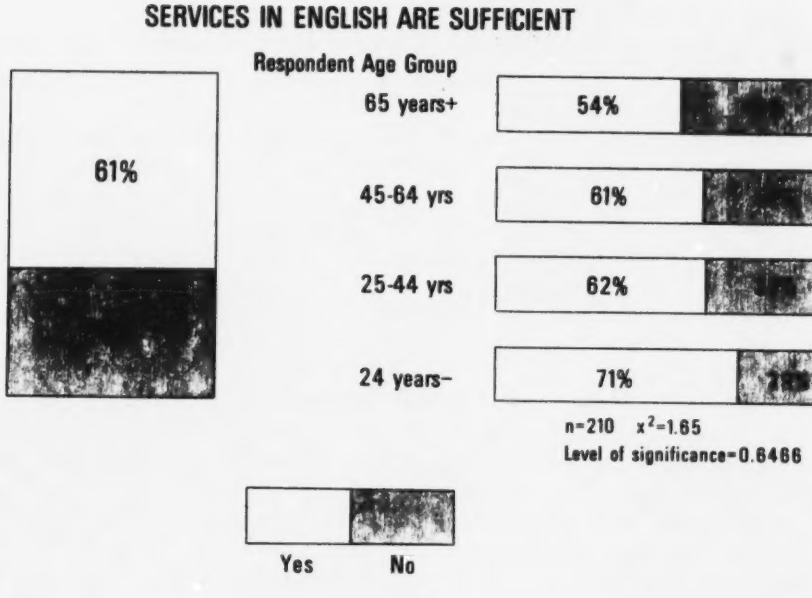
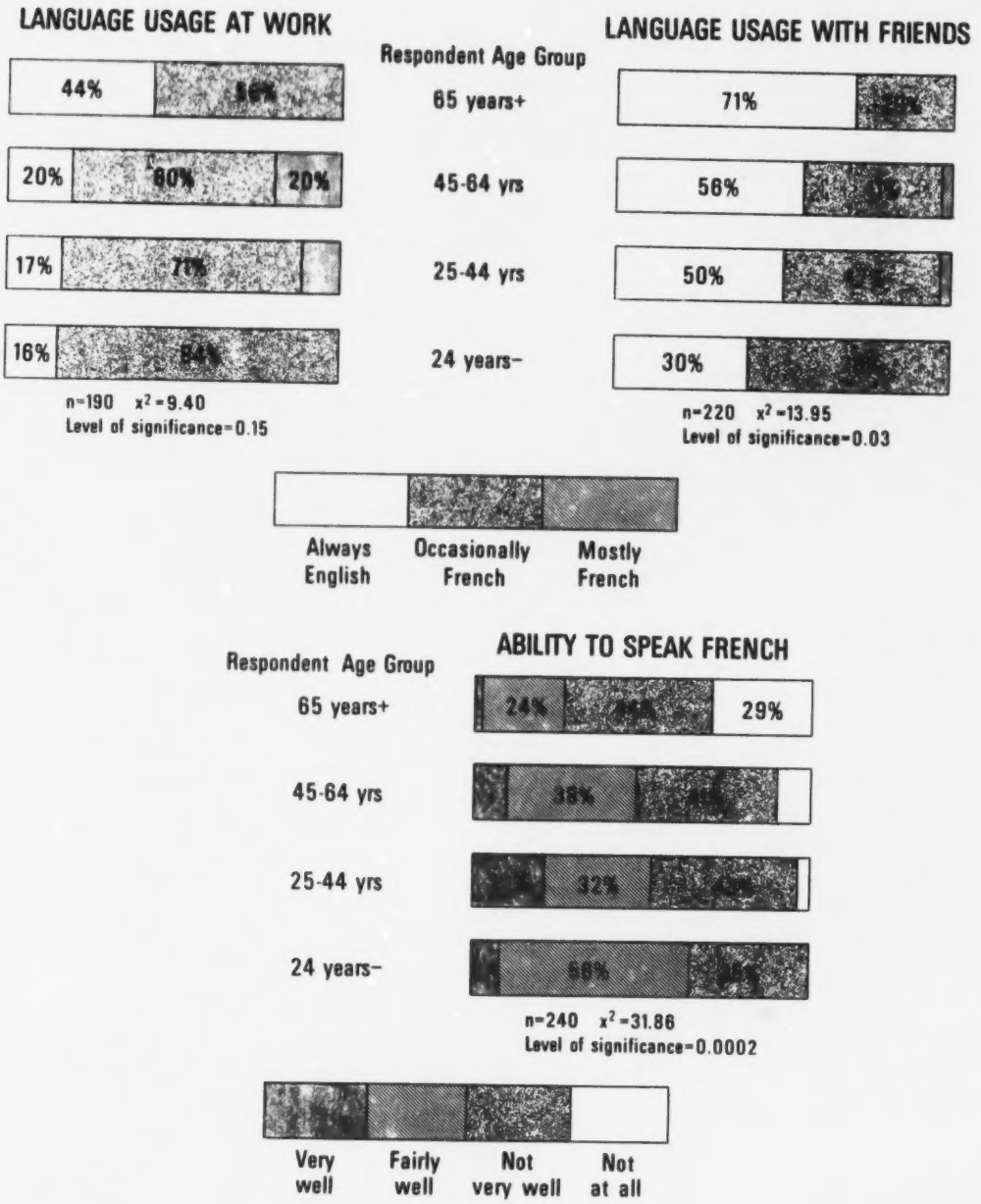


FIGURE 5

Ability in French and Language Usage Beyond the Home, English Mother-Tongue Population, Lennoxville, Quebec



youth of Quebec, found that half of the anglophones who responded contemplated leaving the province as they feared job discrimination and a general lack of opportunity for a non-francophone. This negative attitude was confirmed in a study conducted by a Quebec research organization (C.R.O.P. 1983) in which 80 per cent of the anglophones surveyed responded "worse" to the question "What about the future in terms of social and cultural opportunities (in Quebec) does it look better, the same or worse for young anglophones than for young francophones? " In spite of these pessimistic notes one can detect a shift in the "seesaw" away from division.

The Potential for Integration in the Zone of Transition

Various forces operated upon those anglophones who decided to leave Quebec but an outcome has been a residual minority with the potential to resist these forces and to move toward a greater degree of integration with the fabric of Quebec society. The decline in the index of language intensity among younger anglophones and a more positive attitude toward learning and using French concurs with the findings of Arnopoulos (1982) that a rising number of anglophones are adapting well to the changes in Quebec. Caldwell (1982a) has pointed out that bilingual anglophone professionals and businessmen are participating in francophone institutions at an increasing rate; the probability that this will continue as current youth enter the labour force is high. The same author is encouraged by the leadership role that religious groups in the anglophone society are assuming. There are indications that this social leadership can reinforce a population that searches for a sense of security, a common identity and the institutions that will sustain it. While the trend is encouraging the processes leading to a redefinition and realignment of accommodation within the zone must be monitored if we are to understand the resultant society and enhance integrative processes.

It appears that the Official Language Charter is close to achieving the desired social and cultural impact. The provincial government is now in a position to demonstrate its willingness to make some accommodations to the anglophones within the transition zone. It has recently expressed an attitude of compromise through consideration of a nine-board school system for English-speaking students. This is intended to place the control of schools in the hands of the anglo-Quebec population and ensure that these institutions retain their support system; a gesture that could be a positive example for the Government of Ontario. Is it quixotic to suggest that the provincial government would provide a positive thrust to the new spirit of accommodation by amending Chapter 8 of the Charter which prohibits Quebec anglophones from sending their children to English schools unless they received their education in Quebec in English?[4] There is evidence that such a spirit of accommodation is pervading the zone of transition, beyond Quebec, in New Brunswick and Ontario — albeit belatedly in the latter. With the changes in the linguistic composition of the anglo-Quebec population and an apparent shift in the awareness of their position in the society of the province the provincial government will lose no credibility by reassessing certain clauses of the Charter. In so doing it could help to negate the uncertain and pessimistic attitudes among anglophones revealed by Locher (1983) and the C.R.O.P. Report (1983). If the attributes and processes among the anglophone minority have altered and are tipping more toward integration perhaps government policy could accord.

FOOTNOTES

[1] $\frac{\text{official-language population unilingual (French or English)}}{\text{home-language population (French or English)}} = \text{Index of Language Intensity}$

[2] This research is being conducted in association with Dr. Harry W. Taylor, Department of Geography, U.W.O.

[3] Field research was made possible by a grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Ottawa.

[4] At the time of writing, Chapter 8 of the Official Language Charter is under review by the Supreme Court of Canada.

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FACTS AND FANCIES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION OF ETHNOCULTURAL MINORITIES

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Facts and Fancies in Language Education of Ethnocultural Minorities

The Canadian character trait of collective responsibility for success and individual responsibility for failure, coupled with our social scientists' penchant for ahistorical analyses of issues, is the leitmotif which percolates through the myriad acts of Canada's bilingualism/heritage language soap opera. The tale unfolds: to the Canadian mind the chronic failure of certain minorities — especially ethnics and natives — to learn adequately one of the official languages is because of the presumed negative interference from mother tongue. The Canadian mind doesn't recognize the same degree of interference — especially from the middle class — when a native-born Anglophone tries to learn French or a native-born Francophone tries to learn English. The Canadian wit has it that the cacophony occurs only when an so-called ethnic tries to learn one of our official languages. And in the Canadian way, our social scientists lend support to these views by studying English/French bilingualism with appropriate recognition of the psycho-social context of that process. The usual procedure has been to then set this official concern aside and proceed to study ethnic bilingualism in terms of linguistic abstractions. It seems that in Canada phonemes and syntax exist in isolation from personal and social realities for members of ethnocultural groups but not for members of so-called majority groups. This amazing contradiction permits the ethnic language problem to be seen in the preferred Canadian manner of individual ethnics deciding for themselves whether or not to learn an official language. That the problem may be one of poor teaching, social and economic inequities, power politics and acritical conceptualizations of these relationships is conveniently ignored.

The tautology in all this seems to have escaped the much heralded Canadian imagination. On the one hand, we are treated to the intellectual delight of social scientists trying to simultaneously argue that ethnic failures in learning an official language is either due to the disavantage of knowing their mother tongue, or, contrarily, due to their lack of familiarity with an official language. On the other hand, so the Canadian weltanschauung goes, inequality in education achievement is explained in the nineteenth century culturalist terms of language per se. For reasons which may only be surmised, the twentieth century appreciation of a dynamic tension between the individual, language and social relations, although central to analyses of English/French bilingualism, is not (yet) integral to the study of ethnic bilingualism. Thus, if inequality of educational achievement is due to (some fuzzy notion of) improper learning of abstracted phonemes, then curriculum planners understandably seek to resolve the problem with various language compensation programmes. These programmes often amount to narrow, linguistics inspired drills in one of the official languages. More often than not, in practice, English-or French-as-a-second language classes for ethnics seem little more than exercices in Orwellian duckspeak. Without adequate consideration of the mother tongue through which a target language is being learned, and concern for the individual in a particular psycho-social context — all those issues considered in learning and teaching English or French to majority group members — the outcome is but another opportunity for Canadians to engage in one of their least admirable traits: blaming the victim.

It is not my point in this paper to provide a detailed analysis of the mutuality of public perceptions and social science research in Canada. Nor do I intend to address the major theoretical question of the sociogenesis of language and human conduct. Were I to attempt such an undertaking, I would, for starters, look to the works of Greenfield (1976), Aoki (1978), Landry (1982), Olson (1983), and a few others who are trying to drag Canadian social science into the twentieth century. The much needed analysis of the socio-political and political economic basis of majority-minority group relations, and how language policies and research reflect those relations, is well captured in the works of Aoki et al. My introductory comments, however brief, nonetheless reveal my biases; and constitute a plea for consistency in the research and delivery of language programmes for all groups and individuals in Canada. They also serve as a backdrop for my discussion of the trends in ethnocultural consciousness and the related heritage language issue. I conclude this essay by suggesting a more viable model for ethnic bilingual education.

Before turning to those trends, and as a way of tying in a dimension of Canadian activities into world-wide second language education, it is instrumental to note the prevalence of the attitudes of the last century in the export of E.S.L./F.S.L. materials and teaching methods to the Third World. The E.S.L./F.S.L. industry is becoming part of a story well known among these nations. As the economically more advanced nations cast off the older, linguistics-inspired approaches in favour of psycho-social models which stress communicative competency within specific historical contexts, the attitudes and the gadgetry that went with the old ways (i.e., the tapes, the drill books, the language labs, etc.), all the paraphernalia which too often results in learner knowing about a target language but fails to teach them how to speak and use it, magically crops up in certain Third World nations. The political, economic and ideological reasons for this unhappy situation is the topic for another essay. Suffice is to note that the E.S.L./F.S.L. industry is getting richer while the students of E.S.L./F.S.L. in many an underdeveloped nation, despite massive outlays of money and energy, are not learning how to speak and use English or French in any appreciable manner.

A bit of history

Over the past decade or so the world has entered a new era of migration. The sheer volume of peoples of differing languages and customs who are coming into direct contact with each other is unlike any seen in history. The rapidly shrinking Global Village is bringing into contact peoples who previously saw each other on television or in books.

During the past one and one-half centuries, the so-called New World (of North, South and Central America, and the Caribbean Islands) has been unsurpassed as an immigration area. Migration during this period tended to be by fairly large groups, who brought with them a certain cohesiveness, and who gradually blended into the social mosaics that constitute the nations of the New World.

Broadly speaking the various groups that migrated to the New World came in a series of waves. These breathing spaces between arriving groups allowed for a relatively easier pace of mutual acculturation. For example, my own paternal Scottish ancestors migrated to Canada in the seventeenth century following their defeat by the benevolent English during the Jacobite Rebellion. (Understandably, in this context, I am using the word "migrated" very loosely). The Scot's place in the existing French/Metis/Native Canadian cultural mosaic was well defined by the time next waves came from Europe and the Orient during the nineteenth century. No attempt at a definitive history of the evolution of the Canadian society is being made here. It is simply being noted that in the past there tended to be breathing spaces between the influx of various immigrant groups which allowed for a measured (if not necessarily sensible) pace of acculturation in the various countries of the New World. This slower pace of migration was characteristic of the New World experience until the turn of the 20th century.

Following the cataclysm of the Second World War, and the economic realignment of the fifties and sixties, immigration has taken on a whole new face in the seventies and eighties. Migration has now become a world-wide phenomenon. The movement back and forth between and within countries in search of a better life is becoming standard practice in the last quarter of this century. UNESCO demographers estimate that by the year 2000, six out of every ten people will either have moved from one country to another or from one region of the same country to another, and in many cases, will be, to some extent, living and studying in other than their mother tongue. Countries which were once major sources of emigrants, today, often find themselves hosts of the new immigrants. The tendency is also for the new immigrants to be made and to make themselves indipensible to the running of the industries of their new homelands. The new immigrants also tend to be far less passive than their kith and kin predecessors. The new immigrants are less timid about insisting on their linguistic, cultural and individual rights in their new homelands. Without always being too clear about what is meant, cries for "multiculturalism" are being heard virtually around the globe. Being ethnic is "in". An indication of this new consciousness is the world-wide phenomenon of ethnocultural and heritage language education. The issue of the relationships between the old established ethnics and the new immigrant ethnics aside, a common feature of this new landscape is the switch from nickel-and-dime weekend operations in church basements to formal educational and political arenas.

Inevitably there have been various backlashes against the new "pushy" immigrant. Competition in the marketplace, in education, in housing and social services sometimes results in the "foreigners in our midst" syndrome. Western European countries, with little experience in taking in immigrants, have been particularly prone to this type of hysteria. The recent riots in England and Holland can, at least in part, be seen as a consequence of that syndrome.

A striking feature of this new era of immigration is that formerly homogeneous societies are willynilly being dragged into pluralistic societies. The relative consciousness of the inherent value of ethnocultural pluralism by members of the host communities, and, ironically, in some cases by members of the ethnocultural groups themselves, will likely determine whether the various evolutions will be rough or smooth. What Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) refer to as "ethnolinguistic vitality' undoubtably is at play in these evolutions. Nonetheless, the thrust toward social and education pluralism seems inevitable, and, in my judgment, altogether healthy for the body politic. What behooves social scientists is, by making a virtue out of necessity, to look at the problems of majority/minority group relations, of languages and cultures becoming intermeshed as never before in history, and to try to plan for a humane process of change in the evolving pluralistic constitution of communities. Social scientists have been very good at describing what has been, and in telling others what they ought to have done. The time has come for this brilliance of hindsight type of research to be put aside and for social scientists to play a more active role in guiding political and educational planners.

Moynihan and Glazer

In established pluralistic societies different social and ethnic groups often live side by side, but separated, within the same community. In such communities no group usually tries to be dominant in all spheres and thus pluralism is possible. If, on the other hand, the dominance of one group in all or almost all spheres is complete, the other groups are put into what is referred to as the "forced status" of a minority. History shows us that forced status creates inevitable pressures toward cultural assimilation. Social and educational planners trained in the old school have not always understood that in the modern era, the well and often documented negative consequences of assimilation are frequently the result of having one's identity defined by others, that is, of being the victim of the dominant groups' "cultural hegemony."

Instead of peaceful acculturation as in the past, the new, more aware ethnics are reacting against the old fiats. Today there is an evolving ***zeitgeist***, that is, minorities in virtually all parts of the world are resisting forced assimilation by seeking counter hegemonic means, and insisting on an acceptance of their own definitions of themselves. Researchers, in their manner (Perrenoud, 1974; Ekstrand & Finnochiaro, 1977; Bain, 1981), are also beginning to find empirically what ethnic parents have long known intuitively: that the educational, psychological and social problems of their children is not due to failure inherent in their ethnic nature; but, rather, is directly and indirectly caused by the overwhelming impact of assimilation.

To be sure forced assimilation does not necessarily mean prescribed government policy. Although it would be difficult to sensibly argue that domination of certain minorities was not on the agenda of certain governments, the most charitable view is that there simply tends to be a naive assumption by some policy makers that minority groups need to be "like us", otherwise "how are they going to get ahead? " The idea that ethnics could be "like us" in some spheres and "as they wish" in others seems to have been understood only with regard to minor issues (like a Heritage Day) and not substantive issues (like equal partners in education and economic development).

Daniel Moynihan (of U.S. Senate and "benign neglect" fame) and Nathan Glazer wrote a compelling book *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1970). They put forward a cogent argument about how the U.S. melting pot ideology has in fact been an un-melting pot, with assimilation being more apparent than real. They also put forward a conflict theory with respect to whether the majority and the minority groups agree or disagree about the goals each group has for the other. Although there is a danger in seeing too many parallels between Canadian and American social history (e.g., attempting to understand multiple intergroup relations in the Canadian French/English/Ethnic mosaic in terms of the mainstream-majority American model) nonetheless, Moynihan and Glazer offer a distinction which has a certain merit in the Canadian and other national contexts as well. They suggest that when social and educational planners deal with the problem of assimilation, it is useful to make a distinction between: (1) cultural assimilation; and (2) economic-structural assimilation. These heuristic guides are understood in the literal sense of: (1) becoming like the majority linguistically and attitudinally; and (2) becoming equal participants in the economic-structural life of the community. Moynihan and Glazer also put forward an interesting, if somewhat static model of the various types of agreements/disagreements that could occur between majority and minority goals. Nonetheless the utility of their critical distinction is apparent in number of cases.

For example, according to the traditional U.S. melting pot ideology, minorities should adopt the American way of life in order to become good Americans. Simultaneously, the American ideal suggests that everyone should be given equal educational and occupational opportunities. The opinion of the majority, so the myth goes, is that there should be both cultural and economic-structural assimilation. Moynihan and Glazer point out that in reality the opinion of some minorities is radically different. In their own comprehensive study, they found that the Hispanic population of the Southwestern U.S., for example, want economic-structural assimilation, but cultural-educational independence. The battle for this particular type of independence has been given impetus by the rise in number of legal and illegal immigrants from Mexico, by the advent of an educated class of Hispanic-Americans, and by the recognition of the economic and political power of the Hispanic community. Moynihan and Glazer unfortunately neglected what are probably as significant a set of variables, that is, initial collaboration with some sensitized members of the majority community, and, eventually, cooperation in good faith by *both* groups.

The state governments, which control education in the U.S., have been resisting for years anything but an English language education. However, this new impetus and more

general historical factors are slowly bringing about change in the majority group attitudes and in educational policies. The bilingual Spanish/English programmes, and the English-as-an-alternate language programmes that have been introduced in recent years to meet the new social situation seem poor in quality. In the broader scheme of things the fact of their existence is probably a necessary first step. More importantly, there are signs that the American majority is coming to accept the idea that someone can speak Spanish and English and still be "one of us".

Events in Southern California are a good indication of this attitudinal change. After many years of false starts, a teacher exchange programme has been instituted with school districts in Northwest Mexico. The thrust of this programme is that Spanish-speaking classroom teachers from Mexico would be exchanged with English-speaking teachers from Southern California. The exchanges are for short terms, mostly semesters, with local arrangements made for specific concerns like housing, social and medical services. This exchange programme, however modest, also has the advantage of the American teachers, who are mostly Spanish language teachers, upgrading their language skills while in Mexico. A reciprocal advantage accrues to the Mexican teachers.

As with any change of public perceptions, it would be misleading to suggest that all segments of the American majority are in favour of this type of programme, or that the pressure for cultural assimilation of the Hispanics has stopped. It obviously has not. It is also difficult to predict the long-term ramifications of Reagonomics and related Neanderthal policies on education and social services. These policies, notwithstanding the historical forces that have been set in motion re-defining what is American, will be hard to stop. Counsciousness of the social value of ethnocultural pluralism is of itself a powerful motive force. The momentum is such that citizens in this one part of the world are cautiously but assuredly working toward a genuinely pluralistic society.

The Finland/Sweden Example

The constitution of Finland guarantees the Swedish-speaking minority (6.6% in 1979) the right to satisfy its language and educational needs on the same principles as Finnish-speakers. Moreover, to continue with Moynihan's and Glazer's distinction, the majority and minority in Finland seem to be in agreement about cultural independence for Swedes and Finns. In Finland, for example, Swedish and Finnish children can be taught in their respective languages from kindergarten to University. There is at the same time considerable dispute about economic assimilation of the variety well known in Canada. Like many Anglos in Quebec before the quiet and noisy revolutions, the Swedes in Finland are overwhelmingly middle class. They have also long controlled the industrial sector in Finland. And like the Quebecois quest for *maîtres chez-nous*, the conflict in Finland concerns how to bring about a genuine economic assimilation of the Finns themselves! How the resolution of this conflict will affect the agreement on cultural independence remains to be seen. Contemporary Quebec, without some of the heavy handedness of Bill 101, could serve as a good role model in this valid desire for economic assimilation.

In Sweden the situation is quite different. There is no majority/minority consensus on how the Finnish (17% in 1979) minority in Sweden should be treated. The reason for this, I suspect, is that these ethnic Finns are overwhelmingly working class. They have long constituted an alienated, cheap labour pool for Swedish industry. Officially, Swedish school curriculum states that the Finns should be provided with education in Finnish that corresponds to the education of Swedish children. In practice, however, rather drastic measures for cultural — but not economic-structural assimilation — were pursued for a good part of this century. For example, in a scene reminiscent of Native education in Canada, up to the mid fifties the Finnish children were, in some cases, punished for speaking Finnish in a Swedish classroom, even when they were the majority in a school; and, despite the official curriculum, classes were taught entirely in Swedish (Erasmine, 1976).

In the late fifties the curriculum was significantly modified to teach the Finnish children in Finnish, with Swedish-as-a-second language as part of the daily activities. Unfortunately, these second language programmes were modeled after the English-as-a-second language programmes used in Canada and elsewhere at that time. Only a generation or two after the parents, pupils and teachers knew, has the essentially negative outcome of the linguistics-based programmes then in vogue become apparent to social scientists and school authorities (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976; Cummins, 1978; Bain & Yu, 1984). Unfortunately, what happened is that within a very short period the Finnish children ended up knowing both Finnish and Swedish in an equally dysfunctional way (Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977). The educational experience of the Finns in Sweden gave rise to the phrase *halve sprach* or semilingualism which is now common coin. Lambert's (1981) phrase "psycholinguistic limbo" perhaps more aptly captures the nature of this terrible predicament. I will return to this point shortly.

After considerable research, coupled with vocal social activism by local and international social scientists, ethnic Finns and concerned Swedes, the Finnish children are today, officially, and in most cases in practice, being taught in Finnish *before* being introduced to Swedish as a language of instruction. From the Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), Cummins (1978), and Bain and Yu (1984) research, it has come to be appreciated that in bilingual situations where there is a severe dysfunction in both languages, education programmes have to facilitate a reasonable mastery of the mother tongue as an effective and intellectual first step toward other school goals. By "reasonable mastery" is not meant poetic lucidity. This research suggests that the pupil has to become critically aware that the one and the same language being used to speak with is also being used as a tool to aid in the thinking process. As opposed to the traditional approach of trying to use a poorly developed tool to try and diagnose the intricate metastructure of yet another language, a difficult task with the best of equipment, the more practical approach is to polish up the basic tool by using it in progressively more complex social-communicative *and* academic-intellectual situations so that the pupil can then generalize the acquired critical skills to include mastery of another language. I will also return to this point shortly.

In the broader scheme of things, reminiscent of the Hispanic situation in southern California, there remains a tangle of educational and political issues which mitigate against short terms success for the ethnic Finns in Sweden. It is another sign, however, that ethnic in other parts of the world, in collaboration with sensitized members of the majority, are struggling toward a more equitable form of economic assimilation with ethnocultural pluralism.

To recapitulate the thrust of this trend: in this new era of pluralistic consciousness, certain ethnocultural groups may wish to follow the path of their predecessors and assimilate into the mainstream society. But, in general, the trend is becoming one of resistance to automatic, one way assimilation. Mutual accomodation is the new advocacy. Moreover, ethnocultural groups are also insisting on the institutional privileges of the mainstream society, that is, economic-structural is not being sought at the expense of cultural-linguistic independence. The old trade off of sense of self worth for a piece of the economic pie is seen as an unnecessary compromise. In pursuit of the new social contract however, at least two point seem clear. First, if ethnics are to attain some acceptable form of cultural and linguistic independence, and at the same time attain economic structural assimilation, research suggests that they must be able to master both their mother tongue *and* the language of the majority community to achieve these dual goals. Second, if these seemingly contradictory goals are to be achieved, it will not be by seeing them exclusively as "ethnics' goals". If we are to sensibly challenge the hysteria and crass stupidity which often accompanies these developments, many — undoubtably painful — mutual adjustments by all groups will have to be genuinely made. In the Canadian context the hint that ethnocultural

groups might want a type of language education suited to their needs, one which might even be as good as that provided for the middle class majority, provokes the hoariest word in the Canadian vernacular: BILINGUALISM.

Defining "bilingualism" is not a simple task. Most definitions can be divided into those that emphasize *linguistic structural concerns*, i.e., how well a person knows the linguistic features of language, or *communicative competency concerns*, i.e., how well a person can use the languages in various psychosocial situations.

The former is what is too often taught and tested in schools to the exclusion of the latter. It is not uncommon to find students who have taken a second language throughout their school years, who can perform well on a test of word definitions or other linguistic features of a language but can't speak the language in social situations or use that language to perform ordinary educational tasks. Some experts claim that such a student should be considered bilingual. Other experts have their reservations. Still others insist that we are justified in calling a person bilingual if she/he possesses, even to a minimal degree a capability either in speaking, reading, listening, writing in a second language. This would mean in effect, that if a person learns a few words of a second language from radio or television, she/he could be classified as bilingual. Concerned minority parents (e.g., Francophones in the Western Provinces) often speak to their toddlers in the heritage language, with the hope that the child will grow up speaking the parents' mother tongue, only to find that by preschool age the *lingua communis* (in this case English) has become so dominant that it is but a sentimental fiction to consider the language first spoken as the "mother tongue". This preschooler characteristically understands something of the parents' tongue, but more often replies and initiates conversations in the dominant language. This passive form of usage has some legitimate status under the rubric of bilingualism. But definitions are illusive. For example, based on otherwise valid theoretical constructs, some researchers in the field of diglossic studies seriously argue that a person who masters different stylistic or dialectical variations is also bilingual. This would suggest that everyone is to some extent bilingual because we all alter our speech styles to suit the demands of a particular dialogue.

It seems obvious from all this, that the chronically uneven research findings on bilingual education for minority and majority children, stem, in part, from researchers not taking sufficient care to identify the type of bilingualism which they are assessing. Another part has to do with the fragmented nature of research into bilingualism. A definitive history of the flips and flops in this area — which in the past have tended to parallel the public mood and political convenience — remains to be written. When it is, one theme is likely to stand out, namely, that a good deal of the traditionally conceived research lacks generalizability beyond the axioms of narrowly conceived disciplines. Fortunately there are indications that the research community is seeking more holistic theories and methods (Samuda, Berry & Laferriere, 1984).

Another distinction that should be made is between "natural" and "school bilingualism." Natural bilingualism is acquired in the home or neighborhood, without formal tutoring, and is often acquired before school age. School bilingualism is largely a product of formal tutoring. One of the many myths found among educators is that minority children are to some extent natural bilinguals when they start school. It is assumed that they have learned their heritage language at home and something of the majority language either at home or in the community in which they live, and, therefore, are to some degree bilingual. Pedagogical practice is often built on this assumption without finding out whether or not it holds true.

In China, for example, which has one of the most ambitious second language programmes I've ever seen, and the myth of natural bilingualism is part of the folklore, the elementary curriculum is predicated upon the assumption that the pupils are natural bilinguals. The Chinese school authorities had originally hoped that by the time the pupils

will have completed elementary school they would have mastery of both their regional dialect (Cantonese, Shanghainese, etc.) and the *lingua communis* (Poutonghua). They are now finding, after some three and a half years into their bilingual programme that the assumption of natural bilingualism is misleading. As with many linguistic-based models, the natural bilingualism mistakes the ability to utter a few words and phrases for the ability to productively use the language to achieve social and psychological ends. The redesigned curriculum is expected to redress this conceptual problem.

In other parts of the world the picture is much the same. For some ethnic children, particularly those who live in tightly knit communities and are further isolated from the mainstream because of race or religion, the reality of natural bilingualism is even more problematic. These youngsters tend to speak their mother tongue at home and with their playmates. Even if the community in which these children live is, at the adult level, bilingual, it is usually the case that the two languages are used for different purposes. Typically the mother tongue is used in the family, among peers, friends, relatives and in the immediate neighborhood. Because children under school age are not involved in the broader community in which the *lingua communis* is used, they usually have little opportunity to learn it in any functional way. Even if the children have older siblings who more-or-less know the majority language, the older siblings typically revert to the mother tongue when they communicate with their younger brothers and sisters. Even if some of these ethnic children have learned something of the *lingua communis*, their linguistic skill is often misconstrued because it is usually assessed on the meta-structure or architecture of a language and not on language as it is lived.

A short while ago a German-as-a-second language teacher in Bremen proudly pointed out to me the linguistic skills of her third grade, Italian immigrant pupils. Their pronunciation was nearly perfect, she pointed out — which it was — and their word acquisition was equal in number to the native-speaking German third-grader. That these same Italian children could not hold a conversation in German, or use German to do their school work did not seem to diminish the teacher's pride at all!

Many minority group children are simply not naturally bilingual. They may be able to utter and understand a few words or phrases in the *lingua communis*, or, contrarily as the *lingua communis* becomes dominant they may become able to recognize certain parts of their slowly retreating "mother tongue". But, in either case they are bilingual only in a linguistic sense not in a practical (psychological) or communicative (social) sense. Their facade of bi-lingual competency quickly drops away when faced with ordinary educational, personal or social problems. The acritical acceptance of skill in phonetics or "barking at print" to the neglect of the real thinking, feeling and communicating purposes to which a person puts a language, has left many a teacher (parent and pupil) wondering "what is happening! "

Toward a Model of Ethnic Bilingual Education

There is no escaping the fact that many minority children need as complete as possible a mastery of their mother tongue and the lingua communis if the goal of cultural independence *and* economic-structural integration are to be genuinely achieved.

Moreover, when pedagogical practices are being planned, attention should be given to another set of important (I suspect the most important) variables: many ethnic children come from working class families; and their heritage languages often have low prestige in the general Canadian community. These class and language prestige issues are integral not peripheral to the delivery of appropriate educational services. Moreover, these issues are simultaneously the cause and the problem to be remedied in implementing a curriculum in a heritage language. Whenever such an initial mother tongue curriculum has been tried (in the U.S. Southwest, the Philippines, Canada, Scandinavia, Germany, etc.) the results have been

reassuring (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1977; Hernandez-Chavez, 1978; Yu & Bain, 1983). In addition to honing their reflective skills, official concern for teaching in the heritage language often results in the children developing a more positive self-image about themselves, their families and their own language. And a positive self-image, as has long been known, is a good predictor of academic success in all fields — including second language learning. As an aside, the difficulties of these ethnic children are partly the same as that of the children in the lower socio-economic classes in general. The difficulties are compounded in various subtle and obvious ways when these children speak different languages geared to a different system of social relations.

The idea of the ethnic pride and opportunity to master the heritage language and the *lingua communis* in the early years of school would be but a nice idea if there were not a practical means of doing so. Apart from tradition, economics and power politics, one reason for the failure to achieve these goals in the past has been that school authorities have been using a dysfunctional method of second language instruction for working class ethnics and other minorities. They have been indiscriminately using the elite or middle class bilingual model. This model is also referred to as the immersion or the Canadian model.

It has long been known that it is possible for middle class children, who have a positive self-image and adequate mother tongue mastery, to become bilingual by having their formal instruction through the medium of a second language. There are a few rough spots at the start of these programmes but, by and large, after four or five years of this type of immersion experience, middle class children typically have developed fairly equal linguistic and communicative competencies. I would be remiss if I left the impression that, in the Canadian context, these elite immersion programmes are also marvels of quality education and social justice. They are in fact hampered by a pair of intertwined and easily predictable problems. On the one hand, by the end of elementary school, the curriculum content and teacher capability is often insufficiently challenging for the children of the highly professional classes. On the other hand, the elite programmes tend to reproduce a more systemic problem, namely, by becoming bilingual in the two official languages, already advantaged classed are ensuring further advantage, thus fostering new forms of social inequality. A full analysis of these problems is the topic for another essay.

Unfortunately this elite model is being indiscriminately used in various school jurisdictions around the world. It is often called by other names: English/German/French/Dutch/Swedish/Japanese as-a-second-language for minorities. (Perhaps as with Shakespeare's Juliet, if one calls these programmes by another name they appear rosier.) The problem with these de facto immersion programmes for ethnic children is that a second language can be acquired by children if they have a positive self-image and adequate mother tongue development. The correlation between positive self-image and mother tongue competency, on the one hand, and second language acquisition skill on the other is well documented (Slama-Cazacu, 1961; Titone, 1983; Akoodie, 1984; Berryman, 1984; Bain & Yu, 1984). These dual needs have scant chance of being met by many ethnic children who are simply intellectually and emotionally submerged by the elite model.

Psycholinguistic Limbo

A whole new way of thinking about ethnocultural education is necessary. On the one hand, because the heritage language and related feelings about parents and ancestry are often of low prestige, ethnic children can develop a poor self-image. Moreover, when ethnic children are from a lower socio-economic background, there may be limited material and intellectual resources in the home. Such children not infrequently arrive in school with a poorly developed facility in their mother tongue compounded by a negative self image. And to repeat: research evidence indicates that a child who has a poorly develloped mother tongue and a poor self-image has decided difficulties in learning a second language or most

things deemed academically useful. (Slama-Cazacu, 1961; Titone, 1983; Akoodie, 1984; Berryman, 1984; Bain & Yu, 1984).

There might also be a circular negative relationship which can occur in these circumstances. Children can become what I earlier referred to as semi-lingual. Instead of mastering the two languages, these children master neither. These children become unable to master the *lingua communis* because the means being used to master it, i.e., the mother tongue, is itself poorly mastered. In a very short period these children can find themselves unable to talk properly for their age, either to their own parents in the mother tongue, or to their teeachers in the *lingua communis*. They can end up speaking both languages in a semi-functional way: causing frustration for the parents with whom they can't speak properly in one language; causing frustration for the teacher with whom they can't speak properly in the language; and causing frustration for themselves because of a self-perception of general incompetence. This state of mind is not an existential dilemma, it is literally being in intellectual and emotional limbo.

Without consideration for their particular pedagogical needs the psycho-social prognosis of *semilingual* children is predictable and predictably gloomy. Instead of being victimized by the immersion model, many ethnic children need a different pedagogical model, one which allows them to develop normal fluency in their mother tongue by initially being taught in their mother tongue. This practice would go some way toward improving the perceived value of the minorities' mother tongue in their own eyes, which, in turn, can have a positive effect on their self-image. It tends to decrease home and school tensions by ensuring that these children can adequately communicate with their parents and with their teachers. The language of the majority, the *lingua communis*, can initially be introduced as a subject matter rather than as the language of instruction. Over a number of grades or years the amount of time allocated to subject matters being taught in the *lingua communis* would gradually be increased. In the early years the amount of classroom time allocated to schooling *in* the heritage language would predominate, with the *lingua communis* being used as a medium of instruction for a period or so during the day; then as the individual child progresses, she/he would be introduced to more and more curriculum topics in the *lingua communis*, with the heritage language eventually becoming the language of instruction for a topic or so. I am not insensitive to the curriculum, materials, personnel, and assessment problems that such procedures create. But that problem seems a small price to pay to resolve, in good measure, the rather horrendous consequences of psycholinguistic limbo. I feel confident, based on the studies which have been reported and pilot projects going on elsewhere, (Yu, 1978) that this heritage language model of bilingual education brings greater benefit to the home, the school, the society and particularly to the individual.

Conclusion

The Canadian version of liberal democracy, although motivated by humane feelings, has resulted in the illusion that the problem in ethnic bilingual education is *language per se*. This reified notion misses the social-psychological reality that a speaker of a language exemplifies the power relations of a language group with reference to other language groups. To teach speech sounds and rules of grammar of the *lingua communis* to ethnics and other minorities is not only to teach them duckspeak, it is also to deny or delay their entry into the economic mainstream. Mutual cultural and linguistic respect *and* integration into the economic structure are desirable goals. A sensible way of facilitating these goals is through bilingual education — properly conceived for each group. Formal education will not, of itself, erase social and economic inequities. But the school can be — must be — the central arena in the search for social justice.

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LANGUAGE EDUCATION FOR NORTHERN CANADIAN NATIVE STUDENTS: A CASE STUDY OF FORT ALBANY, ONTARIO

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Most Canadian discussions of languages in education focus on the teaching and learning of Canada's official languages, English and French. "French immersion" programs for (mainly) anglophone students have been extensively examined since their initiation in Quebec in the 1960's and their subsequent proliferation across the country. Official language education for immigrants has also been a focus for Canadian research. The first and second learning of those Canadian Native children who speak Native languages[1] as first languages but who are schooled through the medium of English or French, has not been a focus historically or in the present, either in language education discussions or in studies of Native education generally. The Canadian students who currently enter school speaking a Native language as a mother tongue are typically but not only residents of northern communities; most such students in Canada currently are schooled almost exclusively in English or French. These speakers of vernacular languages (using the 1953 UNESCO definition of vernaculars[2]) receive a type of language education involving a home-school language switch which is similar in some ways to that received by French immersion students or students who come from linguistic minorities. Because the possibly-specific aspects of the experience of Native children have not been a focus for research, however, descriptions and evaluations of Native education have not been contributory to developing ideas about bilingual education in Canada.

This paper reports on aspects of a study which describes and evaluates the language education provided for students who speak Swampy Cree[3] in a Native community in northern Ontario (Toohey, 1982). Students' Cree and English education are described and an appraisal of students' proficiency in their second language, English, is reported. Discussions of language education programs for minorities in Canada often focus on the psycholinguistic development of students, or upon the specifics of in-school presentation of programs (Cummins, 1978; Cohen and Swain, 1976). In this paper I attempt to consider the social and political context of English education for northern Canadian Native students, and to consider the relevance of observations made about the psycholinguistic development of minority children in Canada to these Native children. I focus most directly upon one northern Native community in this paper, but many of the observations made about this community and its school are also descriptive of other northern Ontario Native communities and of communities in those provinces and territories where a majority of residents speak a Native language as a first language.

The Community and School

Fieldwork was conducted in 1979, 1980 and 1981 in Fort Albany, Ontario, a Swampy Cree community founded in the late 1600's by European fur-traders. The community is accessible now only by airplane: there is no road transportation to the community and rail transportation terminates at Moosonee, Ontario, 160 kilometres south. About 700 people are resident in Fort Albany; a very small number of these are non-Native persons. Wage employment opportunities in northern Ontario Native communities are very limited: many people collect bush resources seasonally, a few are employed by the local government

administration, and others are employed in various service capacities (in Fort Albany, at a small regional hospital, at two retail stores and at the school). The majority of families subsist on government transfer payments.

Despite approximately 300 years of contact with English or French speakers, the Cree language has been maintained and it is now the first language of almost all Cree residents of Fort Albany. Teachers report that all children begin school speaking mainly or only Cree and that they continue to speak Cree in interactions with each other throughout their school careers. One can shop, attend religious functions, arrange airplane transportation, get medical attention, participate in local government and other meetings and engage in almost any community activity in Cree. The community receives radio broadcasting and has had television broadcasting since 1979. While the medium of the broadcasting is English, television is very popular in the community. Adults, as well as children, watch a great deal of television; this activity is very social as people hold conversations in Cree, while watching, to comment upon or clarify actions and dialogue in the programs. Television viewing obviously requires *some* receptive competence in English, but monolingual Cree speakers in Fort Albany watch television with others who can interpret for them. Providing interpretation for monolingual Cree or monolingual English speakers in the community occurs very frequently, and children, as well as adults take this on as a matter of course. Being a monolingual Cree speaker in the community does not exclude one from very many activities.

What one cannot do in Fort Albany exclusively in Cree is go to school. While the school does offer some instruction through the medium of Cree, all other school subjects are taught in English by non-Cree teachers. Students are exposed to a curriculum which is similar to that of any southern Ontario English-medium school: literacy in English is introduced in grade one, teachers work with commercially available English texts and follow the course of studies of the Province of Ontario.

The only obvious deviation from the Ontario course of studies which one finds in the Fort Albany school is a small amount of Cree-medium programming. Cree literacy classes, which aim at teaching students to read and write in the orthographic system developed for Cree in the 1840's, syllabics, are offered to students from kindergarten to grade nine. These classes usually amount to about 20 minutes per day. Religion classes taught in Cree are offered to students on a less frequent basis. These classes are taught by Cree residents of Fort Albany who are not university trained or provincially certified as teachers. These teachers do not have "professionally" developed syllabuses for their courses and they develop all their own literacy materials locally.

The amount of time assigned by administrators for Cree language programs is relatively insignificant in terms of total school programming. Certainly, Cree language programs are not seen as central to the objectives of school instruction by administrators. The Cree teachers themselves are concerned that they have had little language teaching preparation and they are further concerned about the fact that they receive little institutional support and few resources for curriculum and materials development.

While Native residents of northern Ontario Native communities often express concern about their children's school Native language instruction (Burnaby, Nichols and Toohey, 1980), Native residents do not make policy regarding the allocation of financial or other resources to Native language teachers. Decisions like these are made by employees of the federal government agency, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, in centres far removed from the communities. Apparently civil servants have decided that schooling through the medium of English is the more important part of northern Native education.

Schooling through the medium of English, at one level of description, "English immersion", is now offered to many Native children across northern Canada. How successful has it been in developing English language proficiency in these students?

A recently completed appraisal of the school-situated[4] oral English proficiency of students in Fort Albany suggests that these northern Ontario Native students are *not*

developing high levels of second language proficiency in schools (Toohey, 1982). This appraisal shows that Cree students in grade six in Fort Albany do not exhibit the English proficiency of grade two northern Ontario anglophones. The situation in Fort Albany is not unique in northern Ontario: less systematic evaluation of the English skills of students in nineteen other northern Ontario Native communities in 1979 suggests that English proficiency is problematic generally for northern Ontario Native students (Burnaby, Nichols and Toohey, 1980).

While Canadian French immersion programs research has not been conducted in exactly the same way as the Fort Albany research, generally very positive observations about the second language learning of French immersion students, especially "early total French immersion" students, are made (Lambert, 1974; Swain, 1978; Swain and Lapkin, 1981). It is difficult to regard second language learning of these northern Native students as similarly positive. It is clear that, unlike French immersion students, but like many other minority students who experience a home-school language switch in other parts of the world, these Native students do not perform well in the second language in which they are schooled.

French immersion research has presented an apparent anomaly. Swain (1980) considers aspects of the social context of second language learning programs, in addition to aspects of the structure and methodology of school programs, in discussing the applicability of second language immersion models for speakers of minority and vernacular languages. Cummins (1978) and Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) discuss the relative failure of second language immersion programs for minorities and focus in their discussion on the psycholinguistic development of students entering such programs. The following discussion considers aspects of the context of second language education for northern Native students as well as the psycholinguistic development of such students, in attempting to account for the second language learning results noted.

The Context of Northern Native Second Language Education

C.B. Paulston (1975; 1977), in surveying previous descriptive and evaluative research concerning school programs involving more than one language (all of which she terms "bilingual education"), identifies some difficulties with that research. She points out that while particular language education policies and programs are the result of decisions made by persons who live in specific social, political and economic environments, most research on language education programs has tended to proceed as if aspects of the environment were constant across programs and as if the only important independent variables in language learning were psychological. Paulston suggests that attempts "to account for the socio-historical, cultural and economic factors which lead to certain forms of bilingual education" (1975:5) are necessary, if we are to understand differential results of programs. This focus on what *leads* to certain forms of language education helps the researcher to regard programs as historically-situated changes initiated by persons acting within particular contexts.

Following Paulston's suggestion, the socio-historical, cultural and economic-political factors which have led to majority-language education for Canadian Native students should be examined. Fixing a date for the institution of this majority-language education policy is problematic, as there has been a great deal of diversity in types of Native schooling across the country. There has not been any extensive historical examination of policy or practice concerning media of instruction in Canadian Native schools. When language is discussed, the comments is usually made that early schools for Native children heavily emphasized the learning of English or French; statements by Native people attesting to the harsh punishments they received for speaking their Native languages in school are well-known. There is some evidence to suggest, however, that some education through the medium of Native languages did occur at some places in the past (Tschanz, 1980; Daniels, 1973). In the

case of some Native communities in Ontario (usually described as remote or isolated), there is evidence to suggest that Native language-medium schooling persisted until relatively recently.

The Fort Albany school was staffed from the time of its establishment in 1902 by Roman Catholic religious personnel, many of whom knew Cree and who translated, wrote and printed a great deal of religious or other material in Cree (Sr. Paul-Emile, 1952). The religious personnel teaching in the school customarily received instruction in Cree before their northern posting. Persons who attended the school in the 1930's and 1940's report that instruction in the school was primarily religious and secondarily practical (the school operated a farm and students participated in all aspects of farm work). Former students report that most oral communication with teachers at that time occurred in Cree. Cree syllabics were taught to school students and students used the locally printed Cree materials in their classrooms. The Canadian anthropologist, Honigmann, 1947, interviewed residents of Attawapiskat, a Cree community north of Fort Albany; he states that the persons he interviewed who had attended the Fort Albany school complained that they had learned very little English there (Honigmann, 1948). However, it appears that a policy for English as the exclusive medium of school instruction was enunciated in the early 1950's. The Superintendent of Education for the federal Indian Affairs Branch wrote in 1952 to the principal of the Fort Albany school directing that all instruction occuring in Cree in the school was to cease (Fort Albany Mission papers). Why should such a policy have been articulated at this time?

Many writers see the post-war period as a time of major change in the Canadian north. After the Second World War the Canadian government become more directly involved in the administration of northern communities. Northern transportation had increased during the war years and in the late 1940's and early 1950's the provision of welfare, policing, health care, hydro-electric and other services was extended to northern communities. Usher (1970-71) and Brody (1975) see these services as contributing to the increasing entrenchment of colonialism in the north. Many writers have written of Canadian Native communities as internal colonies, and see the political and economic arrangements of colonialism as central to descriptions of Native peoples' experience in Canada (Adams, 1969; Carstens, 1971; Fisher, 1976; Manuel and Posluns, 1975; Tanner, 1983; Urion, 1978).

It cannot be here proven that colonialism became more strongly a feature of life in Fort Albany in the post-war years, but some of the concomitants of increasing colonialism in other places obtained in northern Ontario at the same time. Provision of the services listed above became extended to northern Ontario communities and centralization of decision-making regarding those services also occurred. Looking at decision-making regarding schooling services also points to increasing colonialism.

The Roman Catholic personnel who had built, staffed and provided major financial support to the Fort Albany school before the early 1950's were responsible to agencies outside the community, but they customarily resided in Fort Albany for long periods of time and they had relationships with the Native people they served on a number of different levels, that is, not only on specialized schooling matters. Furthermore, many Native residents of Fort Albany worked in the school in various service capacities and they had access to some knowledge about day-to-day operation of the school. In the early 1950's, the federal government began efforts to inspect Native schools, to articulate and implement policy directives concerning staffing and curriculum, and to provide more financial support to such schools. In 1954, the federal government directed that the curriculum of all Native schools in Ontario be made that of the Province of Ontario (Burnaby, 1980). The federal government statements at the time quite explicitly saw centralization and "professionalism" as goals in proving schooling services to Native students, and centralized decisions affected schooling policy in Fort Albany (c.f. the historical discussion in DIA Education Division,

1965). Many of the resident religious personnel and the Cree support workers at the school were replaced by "professionally-trained" personnel who performed specialized functions, who were responsible to authorities centralized outside the community and who generally saw their tenure in Fort Albany as temporary.

Programs for English-medium schooling in northern Ontario Native schools were thus instituted at a time when northern Native residents were losing control of many aspects of community life. When teachers were no longer relatively permanent residents of northern Native communities, when they became exclusively *teachers* and did not have other roles to fulfill in the communities, and when they did not speak the Native languages of the communities, parental access to knowledge about what went on in the schools and parental influence to affect decisions about what went on in schools became even more limited that it had been when resident religious personnel controlled the schools.

Differences between French immersion programs and this case of northern Native second language education originally were and continue to be, obvious and extreme. Native parents did not ask for second language instruction. They were and are not members of politically well-organized and economically privileged groups able to pressure schooling authorities to make changes they regarded as beneficial. Native parents did not and do not have the option of removing their children from second language schooling and putting them into first language-medium classes if children experience difficulty. The switch to second language-medium instruction did not have the effect of bringing parents into close contact with the school; in fact, the effect has been quite the opposite. And finally, again unlike French immersion, university academics did not regard and have not treated English-medium schooling for Native students as an experiment, nor have they monitored the programs to ensure that children were receiving high quality instruction and that Native children's first language skills were being developed at the same time as their second language skills.

The Psycholinguistic Development of Northern Native Children

Some Canadian and Scandinavian research has attempted to account for the generally poor second language learning achievement of minority students in immersion situations by presuming that there is an interdependence between the development of first and second language skills and by hypothesizing that minority students' first language development has been inadequate before the second language treatment (e.g. Cummins, 1978). Such researchers have defined linguistic development in a variety of ways. Cummins (1979) distinguishes between "cognitive/academic language proficiency" (CALP) and "basic interpersonal communications skills" (BICS). He argues that the most important relationship between first and second language skills is in terms of CALP, that is, if a student has developed "high" first language CALP, intensive exposure to the second language (in, for example, language immersion schooling) will result in "high" second language CALP. French immersion students, who are generally very successful second language learners are assumed to have developed adequate first language CALP before the second language immersion experience, while minority students are assumed not to have developed this adequate first language CALP.

The contention of these psycholinguistic analyses is that development of second language proficiency is linked to cognitive and linguistic achievement in a first language. Analyses of the first and second language proficiencies of immigrant students in Canada and of Finnish students in Sweden and Finland appear to support the contention (Cummins 1978; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). I argue here, with reference to this case of northern Canadian Native education, that development of certain *kinds* of linguistic skills in a first language may indeed be important for second language learning in classrooms, but that these kinds of skills are more properly seen as skills within certain domains of language use and do not constitute "cognitive" skills in any broad sense.

Empirical investigation of the specific characteristics of language within classroom domains is still just beginning, but it has become increasingly clear that certain functions and uses of language are more likely to occur in classrooms that in other communicative arenas. It became clear also that the interactional arrangements of the classroom (the relative power of the interactants, the size of the communicating group, and so on) are also in some senses peculiar to the domain of the classroom. In summarizing the characteristics of classroom discourse, Edwards (1980:2-3) observes that students must talk at length, talk on demand, respond to adult initiatives, bid "properly", for communicative space, elicit and use clues to answer teacher questions and accept teacher rights to begin, end and summarize discussion, and to allocate, interrupt, correct or evaluate turn-taking. These may be seen as fairly specific-to-classrooms characteristics of language use.

Parents of Cree speaking children in Fort Albany have not been extensively schooled. With limited personal experience of schooling, these parents may be relatively unfamiliar with the functions and uses of classroom language, as well as with the code of that domain, English. Although there was before the early 1950's a locally-developed Cree-medium curriculum for the Fort Albany school, it cannot be assumed that adults are familiar with the language of classrooms today in Cree. The Cree-medium curriculum had religious and practical emphases and was transmitted by teachers who were relatively permanent residents of the community and in close contact with Cree residents of the community of all ages for a variety of reasons. Such is not the case for most teachers in Fort Albany today. The kinds of language tasks demanded by the course of studies of the Province of Ontario and by transient and professionally-prepared teachers today, must surely be different from the school-situated language tasks of the late 1940's or for that matter, from those of the current Cree-medium classes offered. So either in English or in Cree, it would seem that adults in Fort Albany will not be familiar with the functions and uses of classroom language.

As others have observed, well-schooled parents tend to prepare their pre-school children for the ways of speaking and uses of language of the classroom (Stubbs, 1976). Less well-schooled parents may not be so likely to use language with their pre-school children in ways which approximate school ways. For children of well-schooled parents who have had this preschool linguistic socialization for schooling (perhaps, for example, French immersion students) learning a second language in an immersion setting is learning to use a new linguistic code in familiar ways; for students of less-school parents who have received other kinds of pre-school linguistic socialization (Northern Native children, for example) the immersion situation means learning a new linguistic code for a new range of functions and uses as well.

"Cognitive" uses of language, of course, are not exercised only within the domain of the school. There are claims, in fact, that the interactional arrangements of the school and the characteristics of the curricular materials presented to students preclude to a great extent reasoning and that they demand, furthermore, the *suspension* of student meaning-making (Edwards and Furlong, 1978; Tootoosis, 1983). While some have argued that a globally-defined inadequacy of first language development, or a cognitive/academic language inadequacy characterizes minority students, for northern Native students, such characterizations appear crude. Cree children and adults in Fort Albany are developing or have developed proficiency in their first language. As noted, Cree is used for an extensive range of economic, political and social activities in the community. Religious instruction and celebration, presumably involving highly abstract and cognitively demanding language proficiency, occurs in Cree. While children and adults have not developed proficiency in school uses of language in Cree, neither their overall Cree proficiency nor their "cognitive" proficiency in Cree can reasonably be seen as inadequate.

Conclusion

This case study has described the language education offered to a group of northern Canadian Native students. While the explicit goal of the language education program is to promote the learning of a second language, and while administrators might excuse the relative neglect of first language education in terms of this goal, it is demonstrable that high levels of second language proficiency are not resulting from present schooling arrangements.

In another Native North American context, the school at Rock Point on the Navajo reservation, second language learning results have been very positive in a situation where children receive initial school instruction through the medium of their first language, Navajo, gain their first literacy in Navajo and are introduced to oral and written English only after Navajo literacy is well-established (Rosier and Holm, 1980). Rather than looking for psycholinguistic peculiarities in Navajo children (as opposed to French immersion children who apparently do not suffer educationally from a home-school language switch), it may be important to investigate the extent to which having Navajo instruction has involved hiring Navajo teachers, administrators and curriculum developers. It may also be important to investigate generally the extent to which Navajo schooling has involved de-colonization efforts and the extent to which Navajo people are *de facto* controlling their children's education. It may also be important to investigate how discourse in Navajo-medium classrooms taught by Navajo teachers might draw upon the meaning-making capabilities and the functions and uses of language children have developed in their homes and community.

Canada has, at present, no well-known or extensive Native language schooling, although interest in bilingual education has been expressed by Native people across the country for many years. Many Native people have described their schooling as an alienating experience of entering a foreign social and linguistic milieu, where opportunities for participation in the on-going structuring of classroom interaction (and even opportunities for meaningful resistance) were extremely limited. Thus not only for reasons of learning second languages more efficiently, but also on grounds of social justice for Native children, should there be attempts to seek alternatives to present language education arrangements in schools.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The terms "Native" will refer, throughout this paper, to persons who now identify themselves as being of aboriginal North American ancestry. The term "Native languages" will refer to those ancestral languages of Native people.

[2] The 1953 UNESCO document defines vernaculars as:

> A vernacular language is a language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as a vernacular if it is an official language in another country. (p. 46)

[3] Cree is an Algonkian language spoken by some 55,000 people in Canada; there are also Cree speakers in the north-west United States. Cree has at least five major dialects, characterized by phonological, syntactic and lexical differences. Swampy Cree, often known as the "N-dialect" is spoken in Manitoba, as well as in Ontario.

[4] The appraisal was designed with the conviction that it is important for a language test to sample the test-taker's performance in those domains for which s/he needs to use a particular language. In the case of Fort Albany, the most important, and for many young children the only domain for productive English language use is the school.

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MULTICULTURALISM AS DE-ACCULTURATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

The extraordinary population movements since the second World War, together with changes in our views of what host countries have the right to expect or demand of immigrants, have made countries aware of multiculturalism and multilingualism in new ways. Among the countries which have traditionally been most hospitable to immigrants — Canada, the United States, and Australia — attitudes to immigrant populations have been quite various. Traditionally, no doubt, all three preferred outright assimilation of immigrants. Assimilation continues to be the practice in both the United States and Australia. However as attitudes have shifted, as more and more evidence has been brought forward of the deleterious effect on immigrants of the pressure to assimilate, and on their children of the long-term consequences of being educated in a language which is not their own, questions are being raised in both countries about the wisdom, and indeed the humanity of such policies. More and more, it seems, those who articulate policies are suggesting practices which are much more supportive of what immigrants can bring with them; policies which suggest that the host country may have some sort of moral obligation to foster the maintenance of the immigrants' first language and culture; that to do so may even prove to be politically wise as well as (what it undoubtedly is) politically expedient.

In Canada, such policies are already in place. Here, official policy favours what is called integration of immigrants without assimilation. The idea is that immigrants are guaranteed the chance to participate equally in the benefits of Canadian society, but they are not compelled to give up their own cultural and linguistic identity as they do so. Rather, Canadian policy is to foster the maintenance of immigrants' language and culture so long as doing so does not inhibit their process of integration. At a time when in Australia and in the United States, and in parts of Europe, the political winds seem to be blowing in precisely the same direction, it may be desirable to consider in more detail what the effect of these policies has been in Canada. This paper examines precisely that question, using the microcosm of the immigrant Italian community in the National Capital, Ottawa, as an example of what these policies mean in fact.

We would make the claim that such policies in fact do three things. They are intended to guarantee the right of immigrant groups to preserve their language of origin. In the nature of things, however, they cannot, for the language spoken by immigrant communities is not the language of origin, but an aberrant version of it formed within Canada. Equally, they are intended to enable immigrants to preserve their original culture. But insofar as culture is something more than ethnic dances and foods and costumes, they cannot preserve the native culture either, for once it is transported to Canada, it loses its identity and becomes, once again, something entirely Canadian. Finally, they are intended to ensure that those immigrants who wish to do so may integrate without losing their original culture. But in reality, they inhibit acculturation into the majority groups within Canada, while ensuring a loss of a genuine acculturation in the native culture. It is this phenomenon of double denial of acculturation that we are calling de-acculturation.

In the preface to *Fontamara* — a novel that he wrote in 1930, when he was exiled in Switzerland — Ignazio Silone introduced his readers to the linguistic and cultural background of a fictional small village in Abruzzi. As a man, and as a writer, Silone shared the native environment, the language, and the local culture of the characters of his story:

> There are no woods in Fontamara; the mountains are as arid and barren as most other parts of the Apennines. Birds are few, and scared, because thay are cruelly hunted. There is no word for 'nightingale' in the local dialect. The peasants do not sing, either by themselves, or in a chorus; they do not even sing when they are drunk, let alone when they go to work. Instead of singing, they swear. They swear when they want to express any sort of emotion, whether it is joy, anger, or religious devotion. But even in their swearing they are not able to use much imagination: they always end up by swearing at two or three familiar saints: they keep pestering them, always with the same words . . . . . I hope that nobody will ever think that people in Fontamara speak Italian. For us, Italian is a language one learns at school, as one might learn Latin, or French, or Esperanto. To us, Italian is a foreign language, a dead language, whose vocabulary and morphology have developed without ever relating to our behaviour, to our way of thinking, to our mode of expression. Naturally, before me, other southerners have spoken, and written Italian: in the same spirit, though, in which we don shoes, a collar and a necktie, when we go to town. A look at us is enough to detect our clumsiness. Standard Italian, in the process of receiving and expressing our thoughts, cannot but distort and corrupt them, and reveal that they have been translated. If it is true that men ought to learn to think, first, in a language before they can express themselves, the effort that speaking Italian costs us, does show that we cannot think in Italian (and that Italian culture, to us, is something we learn at school.) (Silone, 1977:28-30, translated by Claudia Persi-Haines).

To quote the words of a novelist, Silone, from a novel he wrote more than fifty years ago, is by no means an attempt to isolate a complex sociolinguistic and cultural situation in a work of fiction, and in the past. Admittedly the *question della lingua* has been a bone of contention in the history of Italian civilization since Dante's times. It continues to concern Italian scholars and researchers.

The language question deals with phenomena of diglossia, both in Ferguson's restricted meaning (1959), and in the extended meaning propounded by Fishman (1971) and Timm (1980). It concerns (cf. Berruto and Berretta, 1977) the co-existence of the superordinate standard language, two different kinds of vernacular Italian, local dialects, and in addition, other languages.

Italian exists in four varieties:

1. *Standard Italian.* (lingua nazionale) As the superordinate variety, this is more or less uniform throughout the country. It embodies the expression of both Italian high culture and the common culture of Italy. It is estimated that in 1951, a time of very high immigration of Italians to North America, as little as 10% to 18% of the whole Italian population spoke only standard Italian (DeMauro and Lodi, 1979). By 1979, 25 out of 100 Italians spoke only standard Italian (but in the 8.7% of the population with high school diplomas or degrees, 67 out of 100) (ibid.).
2. *Regional Italian.* (italiano regionale) A collection of varieties of Italian which share features with (1), but are clearly influenced by varieties of (3) or (4). Like (4), these varieties are vernaculars in the senses elaborated by Stewart (1968) and Hymes (1971). Regional Italian is the equivalent, for Italy, of what British linguists used to call "modified standard" (e.g. Wyld, 1927:149). Syntactically, such varieties are almost completely aligned with the standard; in both their phonology and their lexicon, however, they diverge from it in ways which make it possible to identify the regional origin of a speaker.

3. *The local dialects.* (dialetti, o parlate locali) These change from village to village, from village to town, to city. They are so varied that they are often beyond the limits of mutual comprehensibility, between North and South, between region and region. Dialects from Lombardy and Piedmont are as far from standard Italian as French or Spanish; dialects from Calabria and Lucania are as far from it as Roumanian.

   In 1951 half of the Italian population spoke only a local dialect; as recently as 1979, 29 out of 100 Italians spoke only local dialects, and, in the 52.5% of the population with only elementary education, this proportion rose to 36.9% in the South, and 41% in the North (DeMauro and Lodi, 1979). Dialects can still be the only language of the rural class and of urban workers. Dialect speakers usually prefer (3) as their daily language; they often have no access to (1), but may use (4) diglossically, as their superordinate variety. Educated speakers of (1) may retain the use of (2), (3) or (4). In 1979 it was estimated that 46.6% of the entire population used (1) or (2) and a local dialect. For Italians who are diglossic in one of these ways, the local dialect fulfils, in particular, the expressive function. For many well-educated Italians, the local dialects represent the more colourful, richly idiomatic, familiar vernaculars that ought to be preserved, though not, of course, as the only form of communication. Dialects, in fact, when used without access to (1) or at least (2) isolate speakers, and inhibit cultural development and socio-economic mobility.

4. *The regional dialects.* (koiné dialettali) These are varieties, somewhat standardized but not codified, that provide for mutual comprehension among the various local dialects within a region. They thus share certain features with (3), but are less particularly localized. Like (2), they are a vernacular variety, but whereas (2) is oriented towards the standard, (4) is oriented towards its subordinate varieties, and may differ considerably from the standard.

Obviously the boundaries among the varieties of Italian are flexible; internal migration, rural depopulation, the temporary North-South migration imposed by drafting in the army, have contributed to interferences and even pidginization among diverse local dialects as Italians who once spoke only local dialects have increasingly come in contact with speakers of different local dialects in urban factories and in army barracks. In addition, in recent decades, the use of mass media seems to have spread the use of standard Italian more effectively than the teaching of standard Italian to dialectophones in the education system.

The education system, in fact, has been stubbornly ignoring the reality of Italian diglossia. Children who speak only a local dialect in their pre-school years are often submerged into Italian, without any recognition of their linguistic situation, nor the sensitive support that might help them during the period of transition from the language of the family and the local community, to the language of standard learning at school. Tullio DeMauro, the linguist, with a plea as passionate as that of Silone, the writer, has been advocating a reform in the educational system, that would both recognize the dialects and preserve their rich patrimony, and at the same time protect the rights of dialectophone children (DeMauro and Lodi, 1979).

The trauma of submersion, with its possibly deleterious impact on the cognitive development of dialectophone children, is not the only case where the linguistic rights of minorities go unprotected in the Italian system. To add complexity to an already complex situation, 5% of the Italian population of 60 million belong to ethnic minorities. The ten ethnic groups of Italian citizens who speak languages other than Italian are ignored by the Italian constitution. (Cf. Salvi, 1975).

By analogy with the diglossic linguistic situation of Italy, one might describe its cultural situation as *dicultural.* Corresponding to standard Italian is Italian high culture,

implying familiarity, through both exposure and education, with the great Italian tradition of art and literature. Corresponding to the local dialects are the various regional cultures and sub-cultures (*culture* now in the anthropologists' sense rather than in the sense of high culture): the sets of community norms that allow people to feel that they belong to their own local society and know how to fit in and behave. Those Italians whose only language is a local dialect are likely to be acculturated only in this second sense of culture; those who, through education or birth, speak standard Italian, may also be cultured in the sense that they have access to high culture. And between the two extremes are various degrees of acculturation to higher than local norms, degrees which thus correspond culturally to the vernacular varieties of Italian.

The majority of Italian worker immigrants who came to Canada in the immediate post-war period, in the wave of immigration that culminated in the late fifties, came from a country which was — and still is — fragmented socially, culturally, and linguistically. They had shared with the Fontamaresi in Silone's novel the same linguistic and cultural isolation, the same low socio-economic status. Whether they came to Canada from Abruzzi, or Calabria, or Friuli, they shared the same feelings of impotence and anger against the social and economic conditions of their homeland, the same impulse for survival, and the same desire to find a new country. This did not mean, though, that they shared the same loyalties, or culture, nor that they spoke the same "foreign language, Italian," which most of them had not had the opportunity to study at school. Like Silone's Fontamaresi, they could only tell about themselves, and about their life, in their own local dialect and culture:

> The manner of telling is an art in Fontamara. It is what we learnt as children, sitting on the doorsteps, or by the hearth, in the long nights of vigil, or sitting by the loom, while listening to old stories, with the background rhythmic sound of the treadle . . . . . The art of telling one word after another, one line after a line, a sentence after another sentence, without delusions, without misunderstandings, by calling bread by the name of bread, and wine, wine; and the ancient art of weaving, one thread after another thread, one colour after another, neatly, tidily, harmoniously, insistently, clearly . . . . . Let us give everybody the right to tell about himself in his own way. (Silone, 1977:29-30).

The right to tell about themselves in their own way, is what those Italians, and many more immigrants of several other ethnic groups who immigrated to Canada, have found in this country. In the words that J.L. Gagnon (formerly of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism) wrote in 1979, ten years after the Official Languages Act was adopted: "Canada is one of the few countries in this small planet — perhaps the only one — which has no ethnic majority and which recognizes the right of minority groups to survive by integration without assimilation" (Gagnon, 1979:13). Unity in diversity (the underlying concept of the Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism), or the recognition of a plurilingual, multicultural Canadian reality, hinges, however, on the acceptance and respect of the two officially dominant societies: the French and the British.

> The language question belongs to another order. Canada is a bilingual country precisely because it is made up of two societies. In practice, this means that neither can deny the other the exercise of specific rights it would not like to see questioned for itself. Following proclamation of the Official Languages Act, the Canadian Government established most of the mechanism required for implementing and ensuring respect for bilingualism within the federal administration. (Gagnon, 1979:13).

In the thirteen years in which some of the recommendations of the Royal Commission Report have been slowly and not always successfully implemented, it has been the concept of bilingualism and biculturalism, rather than plurilingualism and multiculturalism, that has absorbed the Canadian Government's attention in policy making. Even though the terms

bilingualism and biculturalism have been often misunderstood and politically misused, many important events have changed attitudes, behaviour, and language proficiency in both the official languages. A.D. Dunton (Co-Chairman, with André Laurendeau of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Royal Commission) coined, in 1979, the term "equilingualism" in order to dispel the misconception that the term "bilingualism" had often caused:

> I suggest a new term "equilingualism" would better reflect the thinking of the Commission, the main measures taken by the federal government and the actions of a number of provincial governments in the language field (Dunton, 1979:9).

It is this bilingual (or equilingual) and bicultural Canadian setting that the other ethnic groups in Canada have to understand and interpenetrate. They have to learn how to take advantage of the humanistic, diplomatic, and flexible terms in which multicultural recommendations are phrased. They have to learn how to make a case, so that recommendations may be translated into policies in order that "the right of minority groups to survive by integration without assimilation" may be fulfilled by a successful process of either integration or assimilation, and "equilingualism" may be extended to minorities other than French or English. In the variegated texture of Canadian society, the stronger the minority group is, the greater the advantage it can derive from politicians for both language classes and gastronomic and national dance festivals, or "cultural" *panem et circenses*. Yet ethnic groups do not always know what is better for them; often while they are busy claiming the right to retain their native language and culture, they forget to claim the right to acculturate, to acquire the language and culture of the host society, which is the other half of the process of integration in the Canadian sense.

2. THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN OTTAWA

2.1 The culture, the language

Since the beginning of the Italian workers' immigration to Ottawa, the first Little Italy in the lowertown area near the market has moved. The Little Italy of today is settled, or rather huddled, around the *campanile* of St. Anthony's Church, which was built in 1913. According to the 1981 census, the total number of persons of Italian ethnicity in the Ottawa-Hull "census metropolitan area" is 16,210. Of these, no fewer than 12,910 are listed in the records of St. Anthony's parish.

Within the precincts of Little Italy, most services are offered in the language of the community: there are two weekly newspapers and a radio and a television program; Italian classes for immigrant children are given in two Saturday schools. On the surface, the Italian community appears to be self-sufficient and closely knit. Yet, though sharing the same country of origin, it does not necessarily meet the terms of reference used by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which define ethnic culture as "a driving force animating a group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same habits, and experiences." (*Report*, IV:11).

In reality, St. Anthony's *campanile* only symbolizes the many *campanili* the immigrants left behind. Though it is large, the Italian community is not a cohesive group. It contains 39 associations — 13 represent groups that formerly belonged to a particular village or region in Italy — to which the 16,210 members give their divided loyalties. Local dialects and shards of local cultures that would hardly have met in Italy meet at a close range. For example, within Italy, people from one depressed area, such as Calabria, would move to an urban area, rather than to another depressed area such as Friuli; in Ottawa, however, immigrants from such different parts of Italy may well end up living side by side. A compact microcosm of linguistic and cultural varieties, the Ottawa Italian community thus reflects

imperfectly the macrocosm of diglossia and diculture of Italy, the country it left behind.

Since it is the Italian community that first welcomes new immigrants and helps to cushion the initial impact and culture shock, it is that community that new immigrants have to acculturate to first and integrate into. Though it only bears a faint resemblance to the language and culture they left in Italy, it is nonetheless more familiar and less hostile than the rest of the Canadian society.

The immigrants' sense of identity, already so fragile before they decided to emigrate from a country to which they never felt they really belonged, becomes even more fragile. Having abandoned their own *campanile*, they gradually lose their own particular way of telling things, their original standards of measurement and rhythm, their awareness of space and time, their recognition of unspoken rules and manners. To recreate a sense of native identity, they join whatever association in the community is named after their former village or region (or even the army division they used to belong to, such as "L'Associazione Alpini di Ottawa"). If there is none that fits their former loyalties, they add a new shard to the collective diversity. It is from this diversity that a common Italo-Canadian culture begins to shape. It is a mixed culture, in which what is common to the various Italian local cultures in contact in Little Italy is retained. For this reason it is also limited: what is not shared may have to be dropped. It serves to link what is common to the individual local cultures that the immigrants brought with them, though otherwise the links may be tenuous. It also expresses their common reactions to what is new in the way of life in Little Italy. Because of these roles, it might be called a *cultura franca*: it allows the immigrants to situate themselves within that limited core of what was common to their local cultures, and the Canadian extension of that core, and thus permits the sharing of experience in Canada, much as a *lingua franca* allows for cross-cultural communication in certain domains. Gradually, then, the immigrants stop being Italian, and become Italo-Canadian. In recipes, the ingredients are replaced, so unnoticeably that people may end up believing that they used to eat pepperoni pizza and drink *gingerella* in their native villages.

This newly acquired hybrid *cultura franca* is embodied in and expressed by a local variety of Italian which really is a *lingua franca*. The variety spoken by the Ottawa Italian community (and with variants, spoken in most Canadian and American Italian communities, in Toronto called *italiese*) is a crystallized, aberrant, idiosyncratic, not highly codified, extra-territorial variety of, and deviation from the Italian diglossia. It is not a pidgin, though it is the product of two pidginizing tendencies.

The first level of this tendency is an endogenous one which occurs within the boundaries of Little Italy. As speakers of different dialects come in contact, they make various accomodations to each other, so that words originally characteristic of only one dialect may be borrowed into another, syntactic differences are smoothed away until only a common core remains, and the more elaborate inflectional systems of some dialects collapse syncretically in the face of simpler or different systems in other dialects. This first stage of the formation of Canadian Italian fulfills all the communication needs of speakers of various dialects in contact. Thus, in its communicative and integrative functions, it replaces many of the roles of standard Italian or the regional dialects in the diglossic situation in Italy itself. It also shares the expressive function which, for diglossic individuals in Italy, is the domain of the local dialect. Standard Italian is relegated to the Saturday schools, and to the use of the relatively small group of Italian professionals and the transient group of Italian Embassy personnel (neither group being one which resides within the confines of Little Italy, nor one which mingles with the immigrant community as a whole, except for business, shopping, and rare formal occasions).

The second level is an exogenous one, by which speakers of the newly formed Ottawa dialect, as they come in contact with the English-speaking world outside of the confines of Little Italy, borrow words from Canadian English for concepts which cannot easily be

expressed in any Italian variety of Italian, and in addition subject their language to interference from English syntactic patterns and to further morphological confusion.

Such influences are the inevitable result of the choice of English, rather than French, as the second language of the Italian community in the bilingual National Capital area. This choice, in turn, is due to the socio-economic factors which encourage immigrant groups to move towards the upwardly mobile and more powerful Anglo-Canadian society. The effect of such an identification goes beyond the linguistic traces evident in Ottawa Italian: what is borrowed is a glimpse of other standards of measurement, rhythm, awareness of time and space, and a faint and often imperfect recognition of the unspoken rules and manners of the host society.

The resulting *lingua franca* is relatively stable. Given the decrease in Italian immigration to Canada, not many new shards are added endogenously; and given the community's relatively high level of enclosure, not many linguistic and cultural loans are added exogenously. It is possible to detect in the *lingua franca* the presence of code-switching (mainly tag-like switching and inter-sentencial switching in formal communication with standard Italian speakers rather than in informal communication with *lingua franca* speakers); morphological syncretism and syntactical calques; ungrammatical, idiosyncratic use of verbs; rules of gender assignment to Italian nouns applied to loanwords. The phonology is somewhat variable, owing to the different source dialects.

The formation of this local *lingua franca* is the first stage in the process of de-acculturation which we wish to describe. Ironically, multi-cultural policies which are intended to support the maintenance of the language of origin can, in the case of the Ottawa Italian community, only support the preservation of a locally formed *lingua franca*.

2.2 Idiosyncratic patterns of integration: the parents

In the initial period of what we are calling de-acculturation, Italian immigrants thus lose their own native idiom or the way of telling things, of explaining, and therefore the ability of telling about themselves, and about the way they were. This is a form of de-acculturation as far as their native language and original local culture are concerned. Yet they are still unable to tell about their new environment, and about life in the language and culture of the host society. They are still not acculturated into English-Canadian culture. By allowing for the maintenance of native language and culture, multicultural policies inevitably foster a high level of enclosure, and thus isolate the ethnic group from the host society. In addition, since they protect the right of immigrants not to assimilate and encourage them to integrate, multicultural policies do not effectively help the group to acculturate and to acquire the language of the host society.

It is of course English that constitutes the main vehicle of exposure to both integrative and assimilative influences. Yet the Italian community, because it initially exercises the right not to assimilate, necessarily chooses as well to isolate itself from the host society. In accordance with Canadian policy, it opts for maintenance of its mother-tongue and culture. It thus shows its belief in its own identity, its illusory conviction of its cultural unity. But it also reveals the community's defensive and protective wall, and its reluctance to open up into the host society.

Moreover the Italian immigrants' choice of eventually integrating with, or assimilating into, Anglo-Canadian society instead of French-Canadian, is also due mainly to socio-economic factors. But by making this choice, they also choose a language and a culture which are relatively less congruent with their own, and therefore a more difficult path towards acculturation and second language acquisition. The community's high level of enclosure, which causes its social and psychological distance from the host society, is also evidence of mutual negative attitudes between the minority and majority group, evidence

that can be further supported by observation of the Italian community's idiosyncratic pattern of de-acculturation leading to assimilation.

In the de-acculturation period, Italian immigrants steep themselves in the highly-enclosed *cultura* and *lingua franche* of the community, gradually losing sight of their native village and their local dialect. As through a capricious zooming of a photographic lense, distance and time distort both image and words. In a new focus, the image of their village is replaced by Italy, the country they often did not know; the echoes of their words are assumed to be Italian, the language they never spoke. From the other side of the ocean they feel they finally belong to the country that did not look after them properly, and encouraged them to emigrate. Their new sense of pride for belonging to a mythical Italy is, again, fostered by multicultural policies that officially recognize and appreciate the cultural contribution of the Italian immigrants. It is easy for them to appropriate this notion, to believe, in fact, that it is Italian language and Italian culture that they preserve in the precincts of Little Italy. But there is a cost: the cost of not integrating with the host society.

This process causes delusions and misconceptions. On the one hand, as observation of the Ottawa Italian community reveals, most first-generation immigrants, though bound and expected to spend the rest of their lives in Canada, live there without integrating, and with the nostalgic goal of returning, when they retire, to that mythical image of Italy which is, in part, fostered by multicultural policies. Inevitably, if they do return, they find themselves as alienated from Italian society as they are alienated, in Canada, from Anglo-Canadian society. The preservation of Italian language and culture — the *lingua* and *cultura franche* — makes them feel alien in both countries. Those immigrants who return to Italy tend to come back to Canada to die, baffled by a de-culturation cycle they have been unable to fathom.

On the other side, when the *lingua* and *cultura franche* slip out of the boundaries of Little Italy, they are often considered by anglophone Canadian society to represent Italian language and culture. But because the reality is so limited compared to the complex cultural wholeness of Italy, it is all the easier for members of the Canadian majority groups to characterize Italo-Canadians in a derogatory, derisive way, to refer to the Italian immigrants as *wops* and to identify them by means of regrettable ethnic clichés.

When the Italian immigrants become aware of the host society's negative attitudes toward their language and culture, they try to move out of their community, even though they may still have acquired little or no competence in English. They can leave the geographical area when they improve their economic standard. However, economic mobility is not always synonymous with social mobility and self-confidence, nor is social integration possible when the language of the host society has not been mastered. One more delusion is added to the immigrants' experience. That pride in Italian-ness that was misrepresented by their newly acquired sense of belonging to a mythical Italy, and was encouraged by multicultural policies, is shattered once more.

It is then that first or second-generation Italian immigrants swear that their children will learn English and integrate with the host society. The first who move out of Little Italy, though, seldom integrate or assimilate. The discrepancy mentioned earlier between the figures recorded by the 1981 census and the records of the St. Anthony Parish are an interesting clue to the Italian immigrants' idiosyncratic patterns of integration. Of the 12,910 Italian souls who are painstakingly recorded in St. Anthony Church, only 2,570 now live within the parish boundaries, inside Little Italy. The other 10,340 have left. But they still go to their Italian parish, though other Roman Catholic churches are available in their new neighbourhoods. For example, in an area outside the city limits, according to information provided by a special education teacher, the local school has a very strong Italian population. The Italian immigrant parents have reached a sufficiently high economic standard to have left Little Italy. But in most cases they cannot speak English. They refuse to attend Mass in the local church and go to St. Anthony's instead, though it is miles away.

They refuse to let their children take religion classes in the local school (though it is part of the Roman Catholic system). Nor will they let their children take their First Communion in the local church. In addition, they continue to shop, work and conduct business in Little Italy, in spite of having moved out of the Italian community area.

What this means is that those Italian immigrants who move out of Little Italy as soon as they reach sufficiently high economic status, do so even though they have not yet acquired much competence in the language of the host society. In Canada, integration patterns are not so closely interrelated with the process of second language acquisition as we think. Though it may be argued that the immigrants who move out of the Italian community retain church, business, friendship and association in their former environment for sentimental or emotional reasons, in addition they *have* to have recourse to the cultural and linguistic support of the Italian community, because they are still unable to function in the language of the host society.

2.3 Idiosyncratic patterns of integration: the children

The children of the Ottawa Italian community are children whose immediate family, grandparents, or ancestors came from the fragmented country described in the introduction to this paper. Their own image of that country is determined by Little Italy: for them Little Italy is just a smaller version of Big Italy, a country very far away. At home they speak the *lingua franca* (as the Canadian Census puts it, "Home language: Italian"); their moeurs, the rules that teach them how to behave and fit in the community are those of the *cultura franca* ("Ethnicity: Italian"); their parents and grand-parents speak among themselves and to their friends a language other than English ("Mother tongue: Italian"). Though they were not born in Italy, though they do not speak standard Italian, nor live according to the culture of Italy, they are neatly classified as Italians by the census categories of Statistics Canada. They may either live the kind of life such classifications are based on, and become the next generation of Little Italy; or they may reject the categories and assimilate into the society beyond the enclosed boundaries of Little Italy; or they may reject both the categories and what they are meant to mean in a fit of frustration and rebellion; or, as multicultural policies advocate, they may find a way to live with two languages, two cultures and two loyalties. It is in the name of the latter alternative (integration into the host society without assimilation) that Statistics Canada fits them into its categories. The children discover what the census categories really mean as soon as they start going to school. In the school yard they are not singled out because they look Italian, but because, like many Vietnamese, Portuguese, Spanish, Lebanese and Greek children with them, they do not speak English. In Ottawa, at least, multicultural policies have not yet reached the classrooms where minority children have to learn the majority language by submersion. In those classrooms, "if they are lucky, they swim; otherwise they sink" (Pringle, 1983).

That bilingual education can be described by the very simple taxonomy of "1. immersion; 2. submersion," is illustrated in Canada by the superb results of immersion teaching of French to monolingual Anglo-Canadian children, and by the often deleterious effects of de facto immersion (i.e. submersion) teaching of English to ESL children of ethnic minorities. In its brevity the taxonomy subsumes a gamut of socio-economic factors, as well as an idiosyncratic result of both bilingual and multicultural policies. After all, immersion and submersion, though antonyms, are two sides of one coin: what official policy takes to be, simply, "second language acquisition." For children of the British and French groups who are being educated in accordance with bilingual and bicultural policies, and for the children of other ethnic groups being educated in accordance with multicultural policies, immersion-submersion ("second language acquisition") is also supposed to guarantee maintenance of the mother tongue.

Now the evidence that children who are forced to learn a second language through de facto immersion in a majority language suffer some kind of deficit as a result is not absolutely unambiguous. The strongest and clearest case, that of the Navajo Reserve children (Rosier and Farella, 1976) is in fact a rather informal pilot study; more has been built on it than such a foundation would normally be expected to carry (Young, 1982). Moreover the results of this study are contradicted by others, such as the extensive survey of second language students in Toronto schools in 1971 (Wright, 1971), which showed that at least some ESL students complete five-year academic secondary programmes in proportions disproportionately higher than English L1 students. Nonetheless a close look at Wright's report shows the high percentage of Italian students — second only to the Canadian French — that is relegated to special vocational programmes, two-year programmes and remedial classes. There seems to be enough evidence that in instances of bilingualism or multiculturalism where a linguistic group can be defined a minority demographically, and also has a subordinate status socio-economically, the children of the minority group suffer from the effects of "subtractive bilingualism" (Lambert, 1975) and possibly (even more drastically) what is known as semilingualism (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). There is evidence for this in children of the Ottawa Italian community too. Had they been born in Italy as dialect speakers, they would have been exposed in their first school years to a de facto immersion into a "foreign language", or submersion in standard Italian (DeMauro and Lodi, 1979). Since they live in Little Italy, they experience the same trauma. In many instances they suffer it twice.

No formal research is yet available, to our knowledge, which could fully explain the real causes of retarded cognitive development among minority bilingual children. More research is required into the validity of standard cognitive tests for them, the efficiency of withdrawal versus segregated "special classes" for them, the discrepancies between different modes of remedial teaching provided for them across the several school boards in the Ottawa area. What is clear is that children of Italian immigrants who are exposed to primary education after a period of de-acculturation in the highly enclosed Little Italy area do not generally excel in scholastic ability. They do not seem to excel even when they live far from Little Italy. According to information provided by the special education teacher mentioned earlier, Italian immigrants' children suffer from the effects of subtractive bilingualism, or semilingualism, in spite of multicultural policies. The primary school in question is outside the city limits and is about twenty years old. The community in the area is approximately the same age. Most of the students' parents are not old enough to be first generation immigrants (given the low incidence of Italian immigration to Canada in recent years), but must be, in fact, second or third generation immigrants. There are currently 128 students of Italian extraction out of the 304 student population in the school (i.e. 42%); there are 64 children classified as remedial cases, of which 35 are Italian students (55%); 19 are severe cases, of which 12 are Italian students (63%). This situation repeats itself year after year; it has been the same since our informant started to work at the school, and it is not likely to change for a long time, since, to quote her words, "We recognize that the students have a problem, but we don't treat the problem as a fact."

The childrens' parents, as we have seen, still maintain church, business, work, and social network affiliations in Little Italy, though they have moved out of the area. When they are called in by the school in order to be apprised of the difficulties experienced by their children, most of them reveal that they have not yet acquired either the language of the culture of their new neighbourhood. If there are older siblings in the family, it is their task to act as translators (though the older siblings usually have experienced the same difficulties as their younger brothers or sisters, they can at least function in their second language at this stage). When the Italian parents are asked whether they agree on their children's receiving some support by the special education teacher, their first reaction is

usually to express concern about their children's misbehaviour. When they learn that it is not rude manners that has caused the school to summon them, but "difficulties" experienced in competing with majority language children in the class, they are pacified. They give their agreement for their children to be withdrawn from the class and thus (at least temporarily) segregated from the fluent English of the classroom. The parents thus cede to the school the authority for doing what is best for their children and express gratitude for the school's interest and help. They do not know (and are not told) that there is serious debate in educational and psychological circles about the kinds of policy decisions being implemented with respect to their children. Precisely because they are not acculturated into anglophone Canadian society, they do not demand the kind of justifications middle-class anglophone Canadians would expect. And even if they wanted to, their English is in all likelihood not good enough for them to be able to do so. In so delicate and complex an area, multiculturalism policies should mean that the schools have a special responsibility to clarify, explain and justify decisions made *in loco parentis*. That they do not do so in Canada virtually completes the cycle of failure.

The children whose lack of any Italian beyond the *lingua franca* and whose residence in Canada make it impossible for them to be Italian in the Italian sense are thus also the children whose membership in the "Italian" mother-tongue group in Canada puts them directly at a disadvantage when they have to compete with anglophone children in schools. The cycle that leads immigrant children from enclosure and preservation, or de-acculturation, to subtractive bilingualism, will prevent them from achieving mobility in the host society. What is more important, though, submersion will deprive them of the ability that their ancestors seemed to have before their emigration; the ability to tell "one colour after another, one thread after another thread," to comprehend the harmony and order of the texture of life. For what multicultural policies define as "identity" is nothing but Socrates' principle. To know oneself — the basis of a harmonious society — means culture, intellectual development, development of the mind. Thus to deprive children of the chance to develop their minds, or their psychological and cognitive abilities, in a situation of submersion is to deprive them of any culture.

Nor is the lot of the children whose parents decide that language maintenance means the preservation of standard Italian any better. On Saturdays, when they should be playing with their friends, these children are sent to Saturday schools to study standard Italian as a third language. Once again they suffer the trauma of submersion in a language they do not understand, a language that neither their parents nor the Italian community at large use a vehicle of daily communication. Worse, they are taught that this unknown foreign standard is a *lingua bella* (beautiful language) whereas their native *lingua franca* is a *lingua brutta* (crude, ugly). To say the least, such teaching adds confusion to already confused young minds. Moreover in the classes we have observed and in workshops we have conducted at the university for teachers in the Saturday schools, we have seen that the methodological approach is exactly that denounced by DeMauro in the educational system in Italy: in Ottawa, a stubborn refusal to recognize the existence and the real sociolinguistic functions of the local *lingua franca*, a refusal to make the students work with it, discover the interferences, realize its complexities; in Italy, an equally stubborn refusal to recognize the existence of local dialects, and make the students aware of their diversity, their difference from standard Italian. In the Saturday schools of Little Italy, the children who are taught to ignore the *lingua franca* are intrinsically taught to ignore their parents' language, and this is yet one more source of intergenerational conflicts.

In addition, the failure of those who decide on the programmes in the Saturday schools to grapple with the educational and sociological issues raised by the gulf between the *lingua franca* and standard Italian means that still more fundamental issues cannot be considered at all. For example, if in the public schools heritage language programmes are offered, or

transitional bilingual programmes, which Italian should be used, the *lingua franca* or the standard?

The truth of the matter is that, in education as in other respects, the commitment Canada's multicultural policies make not merely to tolerate but to preserve and continue the traditions and languages brought by immigrants proves to be, if not a sham, then an impossible pipe-dream.

3. CONCLUSION

In summary, then, in Canada, federal and provincial policies recognize the pluri-linguistic and multicultural reality of the country, and encourage the retention of languages and cultures other than French- and English-Canadian. Grants are available to foster such retention when minority ethnic groups are strong and cohesive enough to demand them. Immigrant groups which wish to do so are thus encouraged to integrate into the host society, rather than to assimilate to it.

Nonetheless, some immigrant groups cannot integrate. All they can do is assimilate after a protracted self-deluding period of what we have called de-acculturation. Policies which are genuine expressions of ideals of freedom, equality and respect for all individuals, whatever their country of origin and language, are intended to foster the retention of immigrant languages and cultures. In reality, however, they cannot do this. Instead, they foster a high level of enclosure in ethnic communities, and this, in turn, extends and maintains the formation of the *cultura* and *lingua franche* which inevitably form when large numbers of immigrants from so diverse a country as Italy come in contact in Canadian cities. With the passage of time, both language and culture come to have little more than a nominal relationship to the language and culture of the source country. They develop into something that is hybrid and idiosyncratic, aberrant by the standards of the source country, but still alien in the view of the majority groups in Canada.

Such a language and culture are perceived by the host society, by later generations of immigrants, and by the immigrants' own children, to be languages and cultures without prestige or status. This perception leads directly to intergenerational conflicts in immigrant families and negative attitudes both within the ethnic community and on the part of the host society. Such attitudes are directly inimical to integration. However the long period of high enclosure and preservation which is encouraged by multi-cultural policies also inhibits the acquisition of English and acculturation into English-Canadian society. In particular, if children of such an ethnic community are not adequately supported in the education system, then the inevitable result is too often subtractive bilingualism. At worst, this may cause them to become anomic individuals who do not belong to either culture and are not at home in either language. (Cf. Lambert, 1967). Or it may lead them to reject their parents' language and culture as the cause of their difficulty in school, and aim directly for assimilation, at the cost of intergenerational conflicts, and in complete opposition to the goals of multicultural policies. Or it may lead them to reject the language and culture of the host society, and thus delay the process of assimilation for another generation, while still bringing no hope for the kind of integration intended.

Integration, perceived by both the host society and other ethnic groups than the British and French as the most desirable mode of adjustment to Canadian society, ought to be the optimum balance between the two opposing forces of native language and culture retention on one side, and acculturation and second language acquisition on the other. If the balance is tipped in favour of retention and preservation, it is inevitably tipped in favour of high enclosure. High enclosure denies the opportunities for integration, but it favours the development of intra-group linguistic and cultural norms which also virtually guarantee the loss of the original language and culture. It is this double process, the loss of the original language and culture and the lack of the chance to acquire a new one, that we have called de-acculturation.

This pattern seems to be particularly a Canadian pattern. It may be clarified by means of a comparison between patterns of integration in the United States and Canada. In both countries, working class immigrants of ethnic and linguistic minorities tend to join forces together and live in the same area of the city, at least in their initial phase of settling in the new country. In both countries, they tend to preserve shards of their original language and culture, while helping one another in what soon becomes a community, and keeping (or being kept) at a social and psychological distance from the host society. However whereas in Canada immigrants have the right not to assimilate, and are expected and encouraged to integrate, immigrants in the United States are expected to assimilate. And whereas immigrants in Canada are encouraged to keep their identity, their language and culture, immigrants in the United States are expected to give them up. In Canada, acculturation and retention are thus supposed to combine in integration. Where this fails, as a result of de-acculturation and retention, the result is delayed assimilation. In the United States, on the other hand, assimilation is the result of non-retention and acculturation. But in both countries, the result is assimilation. The difference is that in Canada it takes longer. In the long run, it may prove to be the case that Canada's is, in human terms, the more expensive policy.

NOTE

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